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Thesis for Doctorate of Philosophy.

Khaqani - His Life and Works.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

System of Transliteration.

Preface.

Introduction.

Chapter I. Biography of the Poet.

Birth - Name - Titles - Takhallus - Parentage and Ancestry; Childhood and Early Career - Marriage, Children and Family Life; Death - Cause of Death, and Grave -.

Chapter II. Khāqānī at Court.

Contemporaries and Rivals - Abū'l Ulā Ganjavī, Mujīr, Falakī, Athīr Akhsaiktī, Jamāluddīn, Rashīd Waṭwāt and Nizāmī-; Patrons - Mīnūohīr, Akhsatān, and others -; Imprisonment and Patriotism.

Chapter III. Works of Khāqānī.

Dīwan - Panegyrics, Elegies, Odes, Qit'at (Fragments), Quatrains and Arabic Writings -; Khāqānī as a Panegyric Writer and his Prison Poems; Khāqānī as an Elegy Writer; Khāqānī as an Ode Writer; Khāqānī as Fragment Writer; His satires; Khāqānī as a Quatrain Writer.

Chapter IV. His Masnavī Poems.

(i) The Tuḥfatul 'Irāqayn and (ii) The Khatmūl Ghara'ib - A Comparative Study.

Chapter V. (a) Favourite Metres of Khāqānī.

Figures of speech and rhetoric Khāqānī used - Subjects dealt by Khāqānī.

(b) Khāqānī as prose writer.

Epistolary Writings - His Prose Style.

(c) Khāqānī as Arabic Writer.

Conclusion

Bibliography - MSS., Printed Editions and Commentaries.

References to the catalogues of Persian MSS.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

(Consonantal sound)

(Long vowel)

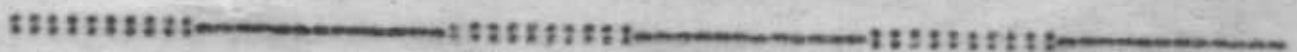
a	ض	z
u	ط	t
b	ظ	z
p	ع	c
t	غ	gh
g or th	ف	f
j	ق	q or k
sh	ك	k
h	ح	h
kh	خ	kh
a	ل	l
z	م	m
r	ن	n
z	و	v or w
zh	و	h
s		
ch		
s		

Short Vowels

ˊ	fatha	a
ˋ	kazra	i
ˊ	zuzra	u
ˋ	hazra	o

Long Vowels

ˊ	long vowel	ū
ˊ	diphthong	au
ˋ	consonant	y
ˋ	long vowel	ā
ˋ	diphthong	ai



PREFACE

The subject of the thesis - Khagani, His Life and Works was proposed by the University of the Punjab, in 1944. The monograph of Russian author N.de. Khanikof, the Memoire sur Khagani, in French, was once thought to be the last word on Khagani. It was this monograph and the praises showered by E.G.Browne which made Dr. Shaykh Muhammad Iqbal M.A., Ph.D.(Oxon), the Dean of the Faculty of Art, translate the monograph from French into Urdu and publish it in the Magazine of the Oriental College in 1936. Dr. Iqbal found that Khanikof's knowledge of Persian was rather poor, his literary appreciation not sound and the information supplied by him mostly incorrect. There was a case for further investigation and research.

As the subject is Khagani, His Life and Works, his 'time' is beyond the scope of our thesis. Every endeavour has been made to collect all available biographical data from internal sources. The works of Khagani have been discussed.

I am really thankful to the authorities of the British Museum, the Punjab University Library, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Imperial Library of Calcutta (now National Library) and the Dacca University Library for the facilities they accorded me.

In the end my thanks are due to Dr. Muhammad Ishaque, B.Sc., (Cal), M.A., (Cal), Ph.D. (London), Calcutta University, who in fact took a lot of trouble even when he was sick, and put me on proper lines of modern research without which it would not have been possible for me to produce the thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis the biography of the poet has been given from the materials collected from the internal sources. Unauthentic information given by others have been corrected. His birth in the Province of Shirvan and date for the same in the year of A.H. 500 has been finally fixed. The story of the name of Khaqani is interesting and allusive. We can safely say that his name was Ibrahim. The different titles which he assumed and those earned by his writings have been given as Badil, Hassan-i-Ajam, Afzal and Khallaq-i-Ma'ani. His kunyat or self-address is Pir-i-'Ali. Some call him Abu Badil without quoting the source. His early takhallus, Haghi is found only in two odes out of his writings. This was later changed to Khaqani when he was introduced into the Court of Raqan - the King of Shirvan Minaohir. Abul 'Ala Ganjavi ascribes all this credit himself while 'Afi advances a totally different plea. He is of opinion that as Khaqani was the ruler (Raqan) of the domain of writing he called himself Khaqani. It is most likely that 'Afi had based his opinion on the verse of Khaqani himself. Khaqani has used Afzal in place of his takhallus as well which led some to think that this was his takhallus.

His parentage and ancestry based on internal evidence are set down. He is of noble origin, son of a carpenter, known as Pir-i-Durugar and Shaikh Mahandis in Shirvan. Authors have misinterpreted some verses of Khaqani and held that Khaqani was an orphan or left to the care of his uncle by the act of desertion on the part of his father. We find that his parents were alive even when he was grown up and was dependent on them.

The nature of his mother, Rabea, and its effects on otherwise harsh nature of Khaqani have been dilated. The details given of her origin and birth will dispel the notion created by certain writers who think that she was a slave girl and embraced Islam after she had been sold to 'Ali (Khaqani's father). The controversy about the ancestors of Khaqani is simplified. 'Uthman was one of his ancestors. His childhood and early career was spent under the affectionate care of his uncle, Rafi-ud-Din Umar, adwatul Bukara, who was more than a father to him. He reared him up and gave him good education after the system of the age. Browne is wrong when he thinks that his education took only 7² years. In fact, his education was completed when Khaqani was twenty-five and when his guide and tutor Rafi-ud-Din passed away.

The death of his uncle was a severe blow to Khaqani. The learned Vahid was the son of his uncle (Rafi-ud-Din) and son-in-law of Khaqani. He was of great help in his education. The titles of Rasool-i-Ajam and Badil - same as Sana'i - and the occupations have been set forth for the same. The major events of his life have been enumerated briefly in different chapters.

Khaqani was not happy about his children. He had four of them and lost them one after another. The death of his son Raghib was mourned in a number of poems. His conjugal life was a happy one. His wife was a true partner and stood by him in all weather. His poems on her have been referred to. Khaqani is not found happy over the birth of his daughter.

Chapter II deals with the relation of Khaqani with different Courts. The encouragement and patronage he received, the contemporary rulers and Amirs whose Courts he attended or sent poems to, and other Court Poets and Amirs who were his friends and those who grew jealous of his increasing status have been touched upon. Poets like Abul 'Ala Ganjavi and Ahmedikhi pitched themselves against him. Mujir was his pupil and so was Palaki.

Jamaluddin b. Abdur Razzaq was admirer of Khaqani but the quatrain of Mujir written in unguarded moment called forth a vehement attack from him both on Khaqani and Mujir. Khaqani and Jamaluddin were reconciled as soon as the latter received poems in praise of Ispahan and its people. Among the poets who admired him and held him in esteem, though they had not seen him, can be named Rashid-ud-Din Watwat, the learned Secretary to Atsiz, the famous King of Khwarazm. His strong pronouncements against some of the poets such as Rashid, Abul Ala Ganjavi and Mujir and reasons for the same have been set forth. Among other admirers of Khaqani we have got scholars and dignitaries like Ahmed Singar, Afzal-ud-Din, Kafi-ud-Din, Imam Majduddin Khalil and Nizami. Others with whom he had literary connections are Nasiruddin Ibrahim (Khaqani's guide), Ahmashad, Qaziul Quzzat Ali, Jamal Uddin of Mousel, Muhammed of Khujand, Imaduddin, Raziuddin, Shaikhul Islam, Ziauddin, Tajuddin, Rashiduddin, Abu Aunru Asad, Ahmed Nagar, Bahauddin Ahmed, Jalaluddin, Nizamul Mulk, Hassanuddin, Zainuddin, the Prime Minister, Saifuddin, Izzuddin, and Abu Isran. Among his patrons we can put - Qizil Arslan Uthman, Ruknuddin Arslan Shah b. Tughril Nasratuddin Abul Muzaffar, Sepahbud-i-Azam Kyalawashir, Malik Saifuddin Arslan, Ghyasuddin Muhammed b. Mahmud b. Muhammed b. Malik Shah, Sayfuddin Atabek Mangur Alaaddin Atsiz b. Muhammed Khwarazmshah. The house to which he was attached was that of the Kings of Shirwan. Khaqani was a Court-Poet of Minuchihr and later of his son Akhsatan. Along with these kings he has praised the Queen Sifwatuddin and has expressed his love for the sister of the king - Ismatuddin.

In Chapter III the works of Khaqani have been enumerated and a comparative study of different editions of his Diwan have been given. Khaqani as a panegyric-writer - his style and his place in the literature as such has been established. His Prison Poems (Habsiyah) discussed. Khaqani as an elegy-writer and his unique position as such has been critically estimated. Khaqani as an ode-writer - presents as one of the best writers of ghazals of his age.

3. For lords and friends refer the Diwan pp. 57-60, 331, 344, 235, 210, 393, 264, 269, 293, 352, 358, 220, 225, 367, 199, 421, 38, 278, 258, 176, 61, 568, 169, 79, 213, 167, 106, 241, 156, 279, 168, 365, 163 and 548. See also Tupfa last chapter.

The different trends which he introduced in his odes such as Wasukht, contemporary history, biographical information, ethical and mystical notes and dealing a subject right from beginning down to the end have been narrated. Khāqānī as a fragment-writer springs surprise on his readers for the simplicity of language, richness of thought, moral dicta and his views on the problems of the time. His satires have also been touched briefly. Khāqānī as a quatrain-writer has been compared with 'Umar Khayyām, Abu Sa'īd Abīl Khair and 'Abdullāh Ansārī. His thoughts and ideas, style and place among them have been presented in detail. We have been able to find one 'wandering quatrain' common to Khāqānī and 'Umar Khayyām. A brief account of the Russian work of Saleman on Khāqānī's quatrains is given in the footnote.

His Masnavī Poems the Tuhfatul-Iraqayn and the Khatmūl-Gharāib have been dealt with and compared in style and matter. The Tuhfatul-Iraqayn is compared with the Hadiqah of Sanā'ī and other masnavīs of Nizāmī. For its new aspects Khāqānī called it "a revealed book". It is an interesting study of the time and period and of what he saw on his way to and back from Hajj. The other masnavī poem - Khatmūl-Gharāib is an incomplete one. We have given a comparative study of the extant verses of this masnavī available in Tehran and Bodleian Libraries. An appreciation of the subject-matter, style and diction is given. Authors like Abul Fazl condemn the Tuhfatul-Iraqayn as "unpalatable writing" while other authors desire to see it as a regular type of masnavī with some moral drawn towards the end. Modern writers like Tarbiyat take it as a travel in poetry - a departure from the common run.

A note on the masnavī of Shīrāzī named the Tuhfatul-Iraqayn is appended.

In Chapter V the favourite metres of Khāqānī have been discussed. We have also given the subjects dealt with by Khāqānī in his poems and quoted terms and words under those subject heads. The figures of speech and rhetoric of which Khāqānī was fond have also been indicated.

^{/ / ^}
Khaqani claimed to be a master-writer of Persian prose. His epistolary writings and the prose preface to the Tuḥfatul 'Irāqāy have been critically examined. His epistles available in the libraries have been referred to. Unfortunately the world does not possess any collection, or compilation like that of the Ruqat-i-Abul Fazl or the Ruqat-i-Alamgiri from Khaqani.

His Arabic writings are few and have not come down to us in correct form. Whatever is published in his name on this account is mostly corrupt. ^{/ / ^}
Khaqani's knowledge of the Qurān and Islamic literature was very profound. He has used and referred to more than 20 Parts of the Qurān and more than 60 Verses (Sūrahs). He could use the Islamic thoughts or the verses aptly in his writings. The comparative study of the contents of the Arabic writings of Khaqani as given in Rasūlī edition of Tehran and Naval Kishore edition of the Kulliyat is given.

Bibliography appears at the end of the Thesis which gives the sources of information. Different printed editions and commentaries of the works of Khaqani are given with critical notes. The commentaries printed and in manuscript on the Dīwān and the Tuḥfatul 'Irāqāy have also been enumerated. The references to the Catalogues of Persian MSS have also been given.

These are the general outlines of the present work.

-:X-----X:-

KHAQANI - HIS LIFE AND WORKS

Chapter I - Biography of the Poet.

His birth

Khaqani, according to his own writing, was born in the province of Shirwan.¹ Jami, Faizi, Nizamuddin Astarabadi, Afzaluddin and Jamaluddin Ispahani have invariably associated him with Shirwan. But the Russian biographer Khanikof maintains that Ganja (Elizavetpol) was his place of birth.² There is a definite internal evidence against it. Aqai Tarbiyat gives طاهور a village of Shamakhi as the birth-place without quoting any authority.³ Khaqani has mentioned "one of the towns of Shirwan" as his birth-place. Thus we are inclined to infer that Khaqani was born in the province of Shirwan.

Browne on the authority of Khanikof gives A.H.500 (A.D.1106-7) as the year in which the poet was born. According to Rieu, Khaqani was born in the year A.H.525 in which Sanai died, while Tagiuddin Kasbi says that Sanai's death took place in A.H.545. Rieu has misinterpreted the verse of Khaqani.⁴ Aqai Badiuzzaman has endeavoured to fix A.H.520.⁵ On internal evidences we can say that he was born in the year A.H.500 (A.D.1106-7) which view is also held by the well-known Iranian contemporary writer Dr. Abbas Iqbal Ashtiyani.⁶

1. Cf. Browne, Literary History of Persia, vol. II (1920) footnote 1, page 391, where he refers to the verse of Khaqani (without quoting it). The verse he means to refer appears on page 35 of the Tuhfatul Irdaqin, lithographed edition of A.D.1877, Naval Kishore. The same appears on page 31 of the lithographed edition of A.H.1284, Calcutta, on page 63 of Isf edition A.D. 1930 and on page 31 of Agra edition of A.D.1855. It does not justify the interpretation put by Browne that the poet was born at Shirwan. The line in question is simple and stands as—

سے گفتار متعلیٰ سخن دان — میلاد من از بلادِ شروان

Also see Diwan pp. 198, 2611 and 330. * See supra page , footnote.

2. Khanikof, Memoire sur Khaqani (Monograph) and the Journal Asiatique, A.D.1864-65, Paris. Khaqani's verse on page 776 of the Diwan (Tehran 1317 Shamsi) refutes it.

Khaqani has used طاهور both as Shirwan and Sharwan. For detailed study refer the New Edition of the Armaghan (monthly), Tehran, taken out after the death of its editor, Vahid Dastgiri.

3. Tarbiyat, his article on "Masnawi and masnawi writers of Iran" in the monthly Mihar, Tehran No.7, year 5, pp. 656-66.

4. The verse misinterpreted by Rieu runs:

See Rieu's Catalogue of Per. MSS., 1549-558.

cf. طاهور چون رفت جان سنائی بن مانرسنا در قریه طاهور واقع در بالای ششمانی زائیره
 For the date of Sanai's death see the Tazkira by Tagiuddin. Cf. footnote 4 p.12 of the Falaki Shirvani (1929) wherein Dr. Hadi Hasan has included Rieu among the authors who give A.H. 545, as the date of Sanai's death; see his Appendix as well.

His Name

Khāqanī's real name was Ibrāhīm as is evident from his own writings:

سے بخوان معنی آرائی ابراہیم پیر اکبر — زینتِ آذر صنعت علی تجار شروانی

and

7 سے بدم چون خلیل عہدِ اول — فرزندِ دروگرے معطل

Badiuzzaman is wrong when he puts a different interpretation to this and thinks that "in all probability Khāqanī's real name was Badīl", as held by Jamī and others. They infer this view from the following verse of Khāqanī:

سے بدل من آدم اندر جهان سنائی را — بریں دلیل پیر نام من میرل نہاد

Obviously this error is due to the word NAM (نام) which was understood in its original meaning as 'name' in English, while Khāqanī has not used the word in this sense at all. Shādiyābādī, a commentator of Khāqanī describes his name as Uthmān, without quoting any authority.¹⁰

5. Badiuzzaman on Khāqanī pp. 300-403 in his Sukhan-o-Sukhanvaran

6. Dīwan p. 621. — سے دور کمال پانصد ہجرت شناسی و بس — کان پانصد دگر ہم دور محال بود
See Aqa's Introduction to Hadiqus Siyar. — خاتمہ شفق کر چو خامان نژاد
For other verses about 500 years of A.H. see the Kulliyat p. 517, & the Dīwan 785.

7. Dīwan pp. 423 and Asī ed. p. 63 — prophet Khalīl's name was Ibrāhīm.

Daulat Shah b. Alaud Daula Baktīghah Samargandī, Tasīratul Shu'ara' completed 892/1487. A.D.

Azar, Atashkada (1193/1779).

Taqiud Din MS of Aqa Mirza Sadiq Khan.

Qasr Nurullah b. Sharif al-Husayni al-Mer'ashi Shashtari, comp. A.H. 993-1010/A.D. 1585-1602 (Xc - Xic) Majalisul Muminin

Ludi Shirchin b. Ali Amjad Khan Miratul Khayal 1102/1691.

Khanikof Memoire sur Khāqanī 1865.

Ethe — mentions him as Afdalud Din Badīl Ibrāhīm b. Ali Hajjar Khāqanī of Shirwan; see his

Catalogue of Persian MSS in the Library of India Office (1903). Ivanow — as Afdalud Din

Badīl Ibrāhīm b. Ali Hajjar Khāqanī Shirwani, see Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the

Curzon Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1926.

Shibli Nohani — Shir-ul Ajam.

Cf. Tarikh-i-Adbiyat-i-Iran by Dr. Rizaqada Shafaq, Tehran 1316, Shamsi.

8. Sukhan-o-Sukhanvaran. — نام وی با قتال قوی تر بیدل و متعل قدر تذکرہ نویسان ابراہیم و برایت بعض عثمان است؟

9. In support of this interpretation of the word (نام) NAM we quote Khāqanī, Asī ed. p. 361.

For variant reading of the verse given in the text (Dīwan p. 601) see the

Nigāristan-i-Faris, the posthumous works by Muhammad Husain, Isad (Lahore). Cf. Asī ed. p. 267.

10. Refer to the Introduction to the Sharn, by Shādiyābādī, Muhammad Daud b. Muhammad Mahmūd Alavi (Xc/XIc), India Office — (now called Common-Wealth Relations Library), MS. 1010.

Last note of preface:

Jamī.

سے بخاتمی از آن بحرِ رسو شش بر انگزد
چون سوسن تر زبانِ تحسین کنان از خاک شروانش

Amir Khusrāo

سے معنی زان گونہ ای گفتم بلند امروز در دہلی — کہ از خوابِ عدم بیدار کردستم بشر وانش

His Titles

He had earned two titles *Badil* and *Hassan-i-Ajam* the former from his father and the latter from his uncle. When his father found that *Khagani* had gained reputation and mastery over the domain of writing peculiar to *Sanai*, he gave him the title of *Badil*, same as *Sanai*.¹¹ The first title was overshadowed by the second.

He delighted in calling himself *Hassan-i-Ajam* on certain occasions which has misled the author of the *Sukhan-o-Sukhanvaran* to write 'sometime he (*Khagani*) named himself *Hassan-i-Ajam*.'¹² With advance of age his learning, knowledge and prestige increased. He earned the name of *Afzal* and was called *Afzaluddin*. For this he had the blessings of his uncle. He addressed himself as such too. So *Afzaluddin* also passed as his name. Friends called him *Afzaluddin* or *Afzal* on account of intimacy while rivals ridiculed him as such. *Shadiyabadi* is responsible for the information that *Shirwanshah Akhsatan b. Minuchihr* gave him the title of *Sultanush Shu'ara*.¹⁴ But this title is not found in his works or referred to by his contemporaries. *Khagani* thought himself to be the Master Poet of the Age. His charming personality and mastery over the art of poetry won him another title of *Khallaq-i-Ma'ani* (خالق معانی) "the Creator of Poetry" from the public.¹⁵ *Awfi* is of the view that *Khagani* was his title.¹⁶

11. Supra p. 8 and footnote 9 on the same page *Agga* ed. p. 200, *Asi* ed. p. 364.

12. Refer *Diwan* p. 93

and its following verse, also *Asi* ed. p. 116. Cf. *Sukhan-o-Sukhanvaran*.

13. *Abul Ala* Genjavi addresses him: *خود را حسان بنمیز نیامده* (I have not found myself like Hasan). as quoted by Browne in his *History of Persia*. Refer the *Fihrist Ibn-i-Tusuf*.

For his uncle's blessing see *Diwan* p. 690. *گفت افضل شرق و غرب باری* (I said the best of East and West is God).

14. Supra p. 8 footnote 10. Cf. *Khagani* (*Asi* ed. p. 399).

15. See the *Khakans-i-Afrah* and the *Tuhfa-i-Shirvan* by Asghar Ali, Ruhl.

16. *Awfi* tenders a different explanation "As *Khagani* was the *Khagan* - the Ruler of the domain of writing that is why he was called *Khagani*."

See his *Lubabul Albab*.

خاکان ولایت بریان بود از آن سبب خاتانی لقب یافت.
فولجی:

Continued from prepage. (last r.n.)

The poets in different ages are found envious of *Khagani*'s status in Persian literature.

سحر بود بسورای دل رقم کردن
لطیفهای خالق نگار شروانی

Khāqānī has addressed himself as Pur-i-Ālī (پور علی) perhaps after the style of Avicenna who was generally known as such in Khāqānī's time.¹⁷ Abū Badīl (بدیل) was his kunyat according to Āqā' Alī 'Abdūr Rasūlī and the author of the Farīd-ul-Adab.¹⁸ In his childhood Khāqānī was dubbed as Pisar-i-Durūgar (پسر دروگر) i.e. "Carpenter's Son" by his playmates at Shirwān. The fact was divulged by Abul 'Alā Ganjavi in his annoyance against him. He was so designated because his father was a carpenter by profession. Jamāluddīn 'Abdūr Razzāq also taunted him as such in his rejoinder.¹⁹

His takhallus

Khāqānī started writing poems when he was twenty. Haqīqī (حقاقتی) was his early takhallus.²⁰ It was at the Court of Mīnūchīhr Shīrwānshāh that he changed his takhallus to Khāqānī most probably with royal consent. Abul 'Alā assumes the credit of this change of nom-de-plume to himself.²¹

It had not been possible to find out more than two odes out of his writings in which he has used Haqīqī as takhallus. In some lines we find Afzal used along with his takhallus. This has led some biographers to think that Afzal was also his takhallus.²²

17. Āsī ed. p. 98.

عزرا پور علی ربو علی چند

ashamed of addressing himself as the Son of a Carpenter, Dīwān p. 334, & p. 113.

18. Introduction to his Tehran ed. of Dīwān 1317, Shamsī.

19. Abul 'Alā Ganjavi:

عزرا دروگر پسر بدنامت بشیروان

Jamāluddīn in his rejoinder:

عزرا شاعر دروگر منم

21. Abul 'Alā Ganjavi writes

Also see p. 14 supra

f.n. *

20. Dīwān p. 750 and p. 873.

چون شاعری نزد خاقانیت بردهم — لقب نیز خاقانیت بر نهادهم

چون کار بکشتن عشق افتد — شش پنج زانش حقاقتی یابد

22. Dīwān p. 724 and Tuhfa p. 377.

نه نیت سام دو دو ولی بسخت — نه فلک یکجوان نیرده چرم

Parentage and Ancestry

Khaqani belongs to an humble family of craftsmen of the town. The name of his father was 'Ali who was a skilful carpenter. He hailed from Shirwan where he was commonly known as Abul Hagan. His titles were Pir-i-Duragar (پیر دروگر) and Shaykh Muhandis (شیخ مهندس).²³ We are indebted to Khaqani for the information about his father and his profession which leaves no point for the biographers to differ.²⁴ He was a very loving father who would go to the extent of sacrificing all for his son. It was straitened circumstances that some times drove him to bad temper and even to the extent of being harsh.²⁵ This coupled with the public talk about his foreign wife purchased from a Slave Market made the father reserve. But he never severed his connection with or neglected the family. He was not without the qualities of head and heart. There are two views about Khaqani's father. The first is that he died when Khaqani was yet a child and his uncle reared him up and gave him education while the second view which is also shared by Browne is that he deserted his family and his child.²⁶ We find that his parents were alive when Khaqani was young and intended to make pilgrimage to Mecca but could not do so apprehending their annoyance.²⁷ In his childhood they looked after him properly.

23. Diwan pp. 373 - 74, 55.

24. For details refer Asi ed. pp. 334 - 335 and 347 - 49.

25. Diwan pp. 645 - 46 and Asi ed. pp. 354 - 55.

26. The biographers like Khanikof and Browne who base their views wrongly on the verses like

Diwan p. 813 : p. 320.

Asi ed. p. 355 - 56.

Diwan p. 640.

27. See Asi ed. pp. 208 - 9.

سے حافظ دین، ابوالحسن، بحر مکارم علی - کابنجر جانی ماست چشمہ احسان او
محمد شیخ مهندس لقب - پیر دروگر علی

سے اصل گبر از خلیفہ داریم - عالی نسیم اگر نسیم
سے آن کرد پدر من کہ در پیش - کردند عرب بدختر خویش
سے تکی جو صبح بر تو بید - از بے پدری نشانی
سے سال سلامت تو میراست - لیکن از دہد و لبریش نگذاشت
چون بر دل دالین گره بد - بارامش کشادہ بہ بد

This happened when he was young. Asi ed. p. 208.

سے پیر دروگر علی - زین نیروی داغ بر کشیدہ
سے ز اداسی یک غفلت نباریم جو غفل - ز آنکہ ہم ماک رفیم و ہم بابائی من

Diwan p. 330

The father was not well-educated. So he could not teach him. His mother too was not very helpful in his studies.

We find Khāqānī has written a poem in which he has complained of his father for leaving him sick when only a child to the care of his uncle who was a medical practitioner who treated him kindly and gave him a new lease of life. This may not be taken in the sense that Khāqānī is annoyed with his father for not supporting him, or giving him proper education or abandoning him altogether.²⁸

His mother was a foreigner, a Nestorian Christian. She descended from a tribe of fire-worshippers. Khanikof is of the view that she was of Greek origin. Her place of birth was Zu'atāb (زوعطاب) and Fāi-lā-qus-ul-Kabīr (فیلوس الکبیر) was her father. Her name was Rābēa (رابعه) when we know her as the mother of Khāqānī.²⁹ She followed her church for some time but left it later at her own accord due to the degeneration of the cult and harshness of its people. Khanikof has tried to impress that she embraced Islam - the religion of her buyer, after the actual deal. Khanikof also says that his mother was a cook and was brought to the Caucasus and sold in a Slave Market, or in other words, she was a slave girl. These views are wrong. Khāqānī has made it clear that his mother was a "Lady of the House",³⁰ and embraced Islam of her own accord before coming out of her paternal home. This will ward off the impression which the description of Khanikof creates about his mother. She was an affectionate mother. He found from her encouragement and good counsel. She lived a pious life and always prayed for the welfare of her son. The poems Khāqānī wrote on his mother are the worthy compositions of a worthy son.³¹

28. See Supra p. 8. f. n. 10. Case is put metaphorically. cf. Dīwān pp. 645-329.

29. Asī ed. 348. cf. Danish, in the Iran-schahr pp. 683-93, II. September 1923.

30. Asī ed. p. 390.

31. For details about his mother see Asī ed. pp. 336-38 and pp. 349-52. Also Dīwān pp. 614-3. Asī says that her relatives were weavers while Khāqānī's statement is that they were cooks, refer p. 8. f. n. 9.

* For her name refer the article of Danish in the Iran-schahr. (Berlin), see p. 26 Supra.

مگر طبّاح نسب ز سویی مادر

His ancestors

One 'Uthmān was one of the ancestors of Khāqānī on the paternal side. From him the family took its name, which appears along with the names of Khāqānī, his father, uncle and uncle's son. This name 'Uthmān had ever been a pitfall for all the writers and biographers of Khāqānī. It is the same word 'Uthmān which misguided the Glassators of Naval Kishore editions both of the Dīvān and the Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyīn, as also Abūl Hasan of the Agra edition. Even 'Alī 'Abdūr Rasūlī, the editor of Tehran edition of the Dīvān, could not guard against it. It is this name which made Shādiyābādī think that Khāqānī name was 'Uthmān. If this word 'Uthmān is to be taken as the name of the father of all those with whose names it appears then father, son, uncle and cousin all would have one common father, which is impossible. ³²

Khanikof is of the opinion that 'Uthmān was also the father of Mirzā Kāfī (uncle of Khāqānī). Naturally it follows that 'Uthmān was also the father of 'Alī, and therefore he was grand-father to Khāqānī. Khāqānī has devoted a poem to his grand-father in the Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyīn wherein he has not given 'Uthmān as the name of his grand-father. Khāqānī only tells us that his grand-father was a weaver.

His Childhood and Early Career

Khāqānī's childhood was spent under the care of his widower uncle, Mirzā Kāfī-ud-Dīn 'Umar, qudwatul hukamā who was destined to play an important role in moulding his future. Khāqānī was sick when he was taken over by his uncle who brought him up with fatherly love and care.

To speak of his education is to speak of his learned uncle, Kāfī-ud-Dīn 'Umar. His early education started more or less on modern lines. He was first shown and made acquainted with things around him. His faculties of observation and retention were allowed to develop by direct method and association of ideas. The uncle taught him the alphabet and rudiments of grammar.

32. Syed Sa'adigali Ghali, his marginal note on p. 455 of the Kulliyat (Naval Kishore,) Rasūlī in his Introduction to the Dīvān of Khāqānī (Tehran ed.) while correcting the commentator of the Shāh who gave Khāqānī the name of 'Uthmān has fallen into the error of styling his cousin as 'Uthmān.

Also see Agra edition p. 203, caption:

در مدح امام و حیرالین ابن عثمان

Contd.

When he finished the primer, he was taught how to write. Khāqānī made steady progress. He completed the reading of the Holy Qur'an within a few years. After this he was admitted into a Higher Institution where he was trained in all sciences of the time. His education was complete when he was in the prime of his life. When his uncle found him proficient in learning and poetry he gave him the title of Hassan-i-Ajam (حسان عجم)³⁴. At that time Khāqānī's age was 25 and his uncle passed away. Browne is wrong when he thinks that Khāqānī took 7 years only in completing his education.³⁵ Khāqānī born of a Christian mother was brought up after Oriental mode of living and was trained in Islamic culture and tradition. According to Khāqānī himself his uncle was more than a father to him and he had paid a good tribute to his uncle and cousin Vahid who assisted him in his education.³⁶ Khāqānī was also proficient in astronomy and challenged verdicts of astronomers at times. **

His Family Life - Marriage and Children.

Khāqānī married once in his life. + Abul 'Ala Ganjavī claims him to be his son-in-law and says that it was he who gave him wealth, reputation and worldly honour. It was definitely for the future good of his only daughter that he selected Khāqānī and gave him a good start in life though to the annoyance of another suitor Falaki of Shirvan. *

Rasūlī has given self-contradicting headings to the poems on cousin and uncle. He is wrong when he gives additional name of Umar to Vahiduddin and puts him down as son of another uncle. He is again wrong when he gives the name of Uthman to his uncle Kafī. For correct position refer India Office MS of the Sharh, caption of the corresponding poem. For irregularities in Rasūlī ed. refer pp. 585, 627 and 654. Cf. Dīwan p. 369. ~~Supra f. n. 27, p. 11~~

33. See the Tuhfatul Irāqāyī p. 32.

34. For details refer Asī ed. pp. 338-41, 353-56 and 357-67:

Dīwan p. 32 Khāqānī's condition on his uncle's death:

فروغ فکر و صفای ضمیر از غم برد — چون غم بمو ببرد آن همه فروغ و صفا
His gratitude for him:

Dīwan pp. 57-60.

35. Browne is misguided by the words on p. 356, Asī ed.

36. For Vahiduddin see Asī ed. pp. 365-70 Dīwan pp. 504-7 and 456-57, and f.n. 32.

* Ganjavī writes

توای قره العین که فرزندمای — منت هم پدر خوانده هم اوستاد
چون رنیت نمودی بشاگردی من — ترانیت و صلت و جز دام

+ Dīwan page 312 lines 7-8.

** Dīwan p. 180

Asī ed. p. 216-18. سه زانیم طالعیت مطالعه کردم — سلطنت از موضع السهام برآمد

We learn from his works that his wife was devoted to him and shared with him equally the joys and sorrows of both his palmy and evil days. If the alterations which are said to have taken place between Abul 'Ala and Khaqani be a fact, then it must be said to her credit that the family peace was not disturbed at all as she remained neutral. Khaqani was very fond of his wife and has written a number of poems on her.³⁷ She bore him four children - two males and two females. The eldest of the males was Rashid, a stalwart, beautiful young boy who was good at Calligraphy. His death in the prime of his life, at the age of twenty, was deeply mourned by Khaqani and it was a severe blow to his mother who could not survive it. Khaqani was present at her death bed at Tabriz where the family shifted some time earlier.* The death of the married daughter took place after the death of her mother. At that time Khaqani was fairly advanced in age. The other two issues died in their infancy.³⁸

Loss of Literary Works.

Among the events of note of his life was the loss of literary works. A calamity befell Khaqani when he set out on a journey from Rayy to a certain destination. The distance was long. Continuous riding day and night made his condition worse. He developed fever on the way which increased and made him unconscious. When he was in such a pitiable state the bag containing his literary works which he was carrying was stolen away. This was a great loss for the poet which explains the paucity of his Persian and Arabic writings, and incompleteness of some of his writings. Only those copies or portions of his works which were kept or presented elsewhere were preserved and came down to us with the additional poems which he wrote after that fateful journey. This poem and the fact described therein has since passed unnoticed by all the biographers of Khaqani including Khanikho.³⁹

37. See Diwan pp. 775 & 781

For poems on his wife see Diwan pp. 311-13, 775, 781, and 795. Abul 'Ala Ganjavi writes

38. For details of his issues see Diwan pp. 585-86 and for Rashid pp. 417-21 and 552-57. Diwan p. 828.

39. Diwan pp. 674 - 75.

سے پدر و مادر و فرزندان رفتند — وہ چہ ما غافل مسیتم و چہ کوتاہ نظر
سے غائب شد از نتیجہ جانم میلان راہ — یک عیبہ نظم و نثر کہ از صرخرینہ بہ
یارب چو فضل کردی وجہ باز دایم — ارحمی کن نتیجہ جان نیز باز دہ

* Diwan page 600.

= Diwan p. 585.

Famine drove him to 'Iraq when he was young . He was not considered grown up enough to be admitted to the King there^a . His desire to go to Arman Khorasan, Isfahan and Arra could not be fully-filled . There was a time when he could spend nine months out of a year on travel . In the days of -- Al-Muqtafi he found Badeyah in the grip of sever famine . But in the time of Al-Mustazi he found it prosperous^b .

His guides Nasiruddin Ibrahim (Shaikhul Islam) and Imam Yahya were sources of inspiration for Khaqani . Khaqani was much attached to them . He bewailed the assassination of Imam Yahya and also the death of another bosom friend - Izzuddin Abu Imru Asad at Tabriz^c . He experienced extraordinary heat of Sun & there was a general apprehension of cyclone in his time^d . Shirvan his native land became a veritable prison for him and he was compelled to leave it^e .

Khaqani reiterated his unconditional loyalty to the King and wrote Sugand-Nama . He left attending Court in old age^f .

He was fond of taking melon (خربزه) . He was Sunni and had strong faith in God . He praised the Prophet in number of poems . He claimed to have seen Prophet Khizir in his dream^g .

a - Refer Asi ed . pp. 65 & 70 .

b - Diwan pp. 97 & 98 .

c - Ibid pp. 156, 241, 42 & 668 .

d - Ibid pp. 300 - 301 & Asi ed. pp. 216

e - Ibid pp. 45 & 189 .

f - See Diwan pp. 70 & 202 .

g - Ibid pp. 409, 670 - 71 .

p. 253.

p. 179.

KHAGANI AT COURT

Chapter II.

Contemporary Poets and Rivals.

Among the contemporary poets of repute attached to the Court of King Minūchihr were Abul 'Alā Ganjavī - the Poet Laureate and Falakī. The relation between Khagani and Abul 'Alā was very cordial in the beginning but later on the feelings between them became strained. We have already discussed at length Abul 'Alā and the different roles he played as guide, patron and rival of Khagani. Khagani claims Falakī to be his protege. We learn this from the stanza of three lines which Khagani wrote on his death. This refutes the view that Falakī was a tutor to Khagani as held by the author of the Jawahir'ul Asrar.¹

In poetry Mujir is known to be a student of Khagani. It also appears from the poems of Mujir that he actually accepted Khagani as his guide and had a profound faith in his attainments.² But they fell out later on. This we learn from the writings of Khagani when he fell in difficulty with poets and residents of Isfahan as the result of the quatrain written by Mujir in unguarded moments,³ wrongly believed to be Khagani's composition, slandering and defaming Isfahan. This called forth a vehement attack from writers of Isfahan in defence of their mother-land. Among those was Jamāl-ud-Dīn 'Abdur Razzaq who spared neither Mujir nor Khagani. In his poem Jamāl-ud-Dīn gave vent to his patriotic feelings championing the cause of his mother-land, its hospitality, its richness in natural resources and men of letters. He took exception to Khagani's boastings and describing himself as the greatest poet of the age. He also objected to his (Khagani's) sending poems to 'Iraq or addressing 'Iraq.

1. Sadia b. Salih in his Shahid-i-Sadia puts Falaki as tutor to Khagani. Refer the Urafa'ul Ashiqin of Taqi Awhaf (A.H. 1024) and Majma'ul Fughah of Bida' Guli Khan (A.H. 1294) for the different readings of the following verse on the subject:

ساز آخر فلکی توسی برون نیاید — که طوق لغزش نه حلقه دکان منست

For literary contest refer the Dāwan of Athiruddin Akhsakti, Br. Mus. MS. Gr. 268, 180 s-b: India Office MS. No. 132, f. 34 a.

Khagani's Dāwan 713 - 14. Ibid p. 67.

Cf. Dr. Hāshim Hassan, his Falakī Shirvanī (1929) who takes Falakī as protege of Khagani.

2. Mujir writes:-

س کیم وقت و مسیح زمانه خاتمال — که عمر خورشید بار و عصمت یحیی
خرد مجتبی او یحیی طالع در مکتب — بنر بخت او یحیی قطره در دریا

pt. 19 and

See Supra [20] foot note.

Jamāl Uddin writes

عمر تخف فرستی ز شتر سوئی عراق اینت چل
Cf. pp. 240, 247, 253 & 319.

Death of Khaqani

Biographers differ about the date of his death. This difference extends over 63 years. It is by no means small. There are four groups of biographers. First group headed by the author of the Majmal-i-Faghi as copied down in the Mirāt-ul-Khayāl records A.H. 532 as the year of Khaqani's death. The second includes authors of the works: 1. Tarikh-i-Banakitī, 2. Tazkira-i-Daulat Shah, 3. Majma-ul-Fusḥā, 4. Tazkira-i-Taḡi-ud-Dīn and 5. Takhlīs-ul-āthār Fi 'Ajaibul-Aqṭar. This group puts A.H. 581-2 as the year of death. The third led by 'Ata Malik Juwainī gives A.H. 592, and the fourth group consisting of the author of the Nataijul Afkar Mirza Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Tarbiyat, and 'Abdūl Vahhāb Qizvinī, gives A.H. 595 as the year of Khaqani's death.

The dates A.H. 532, A.H. 581 and A.H. 582 offered as the year of Khaqani's death are wrong because we find, from internal evidences and events described in his works, that the poet lived for many years thereafter⁴⁰. The A.H. 592 as given by the third group is also disproved by the convincing arguments and facts given by the fourth. The year A.H. 595 as given by the fourth group is more authentic and we take it that Khaqani died in A.H. 595.

Cause of Death

The cause of his death as stated by Taḡiud Dīn in his Tazkira is hernia⁴⁰. But he has not mentioned his source of information or authority on which he based it. What we make out from the internal source is that he might have died of heart trouble from which he suffered from time to time⁴¹.

His Grave

Khaqani was buried in Surkhāb in Tebriz in "Poet's Corner". His grave was existing in the life time of Taḡiuddin and was a place of reverence for the literary people⁴². Khanikof in spite of all his efforts has failed to trace his grave.

40. Refer Tazkira-i-Taḡiuddin :

41. His heart trouble, Diwan pp. 499, 621 & 610.

42. Ref. Tazkira-i-Taḡiuddin

④ Diwan p. 447 line 4.

④ Nizami writes

سہمی گنیم کہ خاقانی دریا گوی من گردد — دریا من شدم آخر دریا گوی خاقانی

گویند بسبب اعراض الی زمان و مارضه اثر (؟) باز قی پیرا کرد
و قتلایان مرض گرفتار بود آخر الامر آن مرض جانستان برون
ذات شریف استیلا یافت
(و) مرقد او الیوم معلوم است

KHAQANI AT COURT

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1. Sadiq b. Salih in his Shahid-i-Sadiq puts Falakī as tutor to Khāqanī. Refer the Urufat'ul Ashiqin of Taqi Awdat (A.H. 1024) and Majma'ul Fugah of Riza' Quli Khan (A.H. 1294) for the different readings of the following verse on the subject:

For literary contest refer the Diwan of Athiruddin Akhshakti, Br. Mus. MS. Gr. 268, 180 a-b; India Office MS. No. 132, f. 34 a.

Khāqanī's Diwan 713 - 14. Ibid p. 672.

Cf. Dr. Hādī Hasan, his Falakī Shirvanī (1929) who takes Falakī as protégé of Khāqanī.

2. Mujir writes:-

س کیم وقت وسیع زمانه خاتمی — که عرضش بار و عصمت یحیی
خرد بچاس او بچو فلان در مکتب — بنر بخت او بچو قلم در دریا

pt. 19 and

See Supra [20] foot note.

Jamāl Uddin writes

عز تحفه فرستی ز شتر سوئی عراق اینت چل
Cf. pp. 240, 247, 253 & 319.

The poems containing such verses as passed uncensored earlier were now considered as 'open national challenge' to the learning and knowledge of Isfahan and 'Iraq. There was no dearth of better writers in 'Iraq and Isfahan in the opinion of Jamal-ud-Din who considered himself as one of them, learned enough to be pitched against Khaqani.⁴ Khaqani made the most of the situation praised Isfahan in more than one poems and acknowledged its scholars. This happened at the time when Khaqani had attained his worldly ambitions and was recognized as a master-writer. Even Jamal-ud-Din had this fact lurking at the back of his mind when he sent the rejoinder. The moment Khaqani's poems on Isfahan reached Jamal-ud-Din he came forward to acknowledge Khaqani, his sincerity and attainments.⁵

The fame of Khaqani spread over Khorasan and Khwarazm among other places and won friends for him. Among them was Rashid-ud-Din Watwat - the learned and bi-lingual secretary of Khwarazm Shah (A.H. 521-55). The poem Khaqani wrote at the age of 24 and sent to the Shah arrested Rashid's imagination and impelled him to write a poem of thirty-one lines in praise of Khaqani.⁶ Even in the midst of extreme grief over his uncle's death Khaqani did not forget to respond to the courtesy shown him, and sent a befitting reply. The hand of friendship extended and the message of love received were more enchanting to him than the sweet voices of birds. It was in spring that he got the cordial message both in prose and verse from Watwat whom Khaqani addressed by his titles of Sadruz Zaman (صدر الزمان) and Amir-ush-Shuara (امير الشعراء). Khaqani had a great faith in the accomplishment of Watwat. Soon after we find that they fell out. The provocations came from Rashid's side. The pride and self-importance of Watwat, the value he put to his own writings and the preference he gave it over others composition at last were the causes of disagreement and final break-up.

Cf. The Ghurrat-ul Kamal wherein Amir Khusrav extols him as better poet than Khaqani.

3. Mujir, his censure of Isfahan.

4. Rejoinder of Jamal-ud-Din.

See also the article "The Contest of Jamal-ud-Din and Khaqani" by Dr. Afghar in the Monthly Rinda vol. 3, pp. 390-93.

Jamal-ud-Din writes:

Retort of Jamal-ud-Din

Diwan p.225, on his own fame.

*Mujir informs us:-

مے بنور گوشتگان ہستہ اندر لقی — کہ قوتِ نالغہ مرد از ایشان برد
یکے نام ایشان منم چون کنم رائی نغم — سبزه بر طبع من روان حستان برد
مے گوید - خاقانیا - این ہم ناموں چیت ؟ — نہ ہر کم دوست گفت لقب ز خاقان برد
مے حان شہنشاہ اقلیم نغم خاقان — کہ صیتِ فضل ز شروانش رفتہ تار حسن

The Persian Literature was in no way enriched by their satires. *Watwat* like *Mujir*, pursued *Khaqani* by writing satires and even set people to put him to difficulty. *Khaqani* to wreak vengeance on him denounced his learning, epistles, poems and *ali*. Friendship between them grew up only through letters and poems. It broke off before they could meet each other.

The other poet of that period who addressed and attacked *Khaqani* in his poems was *Athir Akhsakti*.^L But it appears that *Khaqani* did not take much notice of him. The gentlemen with whom *Khaqani* exchanged literary correspondence include *Imam Majdud Din Khalil*,⁷ the philosopher, *Afzal-ud-Din* of *Sawah*, *Imam Najmud Din* and *Nizami*. The relations between *Nizami* and *Khaqani* were very cordial. Both of them knew each other's worth in the domain of poetry.

Ganjavi writes

5. *Jamalud Din* acknowledges *Khaqani*.

Khaqani denounces *Mujir* and praises *Isfahan* and its scholars, *Diwan* pp. 360 - 61.

6. *Rashid Watwat* acknowledges *Khaqani* see *Diwan* pp. 30 - 35 and 195 - 99

Khaqani's reply:

Qasida of *Khaqani* sent to *Atsis*, the patron of *Rashid Watwat*.

Aqa-i-Abbas Iqbal also includes in the disagreement between *Rashid* and *Khaqani* their views about the genius of *Sana'i* and *Sad Salman*. Refer his Introduction to the *Hadiqus Sihar*, see *Kulliyat* page 877.

Writes *Khaqani*

7. See the *Diwan* pp. 105-6, his three fragments and replies of *Khaqani* thereto, pp. 647-48 for that of *Afzal-ud-Din* of *Sawah* and p. 330 for that of *Singar* and replies thereto.

^L For literary contest refer the *Diwan* of *Athirud Din Akhsakti*, Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 268, f 180 a - b : India Office Ms. 132, f 34 a -

in reply to *Khaqani's* fragments

::: *Diwan* p. 673.

His Patrons

Khāqānī was a poet of the Court of Shirwānshahs.⁸ It was Abul 'Alā Ganjavī, the Poet Laureate who first introduced him into the Court of Mīnūchīhr Shirwānshah. The congenial and encouraging atmosphere of the Court gave a full play to the free development of his talent and inherent faculties. Here his mental outlook broadened, literary connections expanded and personal status and dignity increased. By his charming personality, sharp intellect, and poetical genius he was soon able to outshine and over-shadow other luminaries including the old Abul 'Alā Ganjavī. He was privileged to bask in the sunshine of royal favour. His prominence and growing popularity begot rivals in and outside the Court. Some of them did not hesitate to express their feelings openly while others were brewing inwardly his destruction. In those days Courts were fraught with intrigue and conspiracy. Flattery, cliques and hypocrisy played a dominant part. The rulers being autocrats were difficult to please. Their whims and vagaries were the order of the day. The Court of Shirwān was not an exception to it. Khāqānī soon found himself embarrassed by the hostile elements at work.⁹ He lost the patronage and goodwill of his teacher in poetry Abul 'Alā Ganjavī. =

The King's frequent invitations to drinking bouts and banquets, the grandeur of Court life enthralled Khāqānī for some time, but in the long run they had no charm for him. His independent spirit stood in his way and he could not observe all the formalities of the Court.¹⁰ There was a time when Khāqānī wanted to attain more name and fame and longed to join other Courts. He could not tolerate to see mediocrity better rewarded. The petty kingdom of Shirwān and internal troubles of the State were not conducive to the fulfilment of his high ambition.

8. The dynasty of the Shahs of Shirwān, who ruled over this province about sixth century A.H. was founded by Muḥammad b. Yazīd. Details are given on the next page.

9. Idārah page 598.

pp. 76-77; 356-77.

10. Ibid p. 598.

سے برد آن صلات و باز گرفت این غرامت - داد آن غلام و باز شد این حکم است
عکس اینجا هم گم کنم کہ غلامی بمن گم است

For details of this dynasty see next page.

= The indecent words used by Ganjavī was also one of the causes:

سے تھے گلام از روی مستی نکلان را
نکلان کیت بہ صاحب قرآن چہا را

Shirwanshahs.

Minūchīr II b. Farīdūn (A.H., 514-544). He was a famous ruler of Shirvan. His personal titles were Abū Ḥalīf, Fakhrud-dīn waḍ Ḍawlat. Khāqān-i-Akbar, Khāqān-i-Kabir and Khāqān-i-Buzurg, common with other rulers of this dynasty. He was contemporary of Caliph Al-Muqtafi (A.H. 532 - 55).

Akhsatan b. Minūchīr II (died between A.H. 593 and A.H. 600). He was born in A.H. 500 in the year Khāqānī was born. He survived Khāqānī - see Falaki Shirvānī p. 33 by Dr. Hādī Hasan. His titles were Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm, according to Khanikof and Pakhomow respectively. Khanikof gives Fakhrūddīn, Nasrūddīn and Jalālūddīn as his titles, but Pakhomow wonders from where he got the first title for Akhsatan. The correct position is that the title Fakhrūddīn belongs to Minūchīr II. It has wrongly found its way into the explanatory titles of certain odes of Khāqānī addressed to Akhsatan. The reason how the title Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm is associated with his name could be found in the tarjiband addressed to the scholar friend Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm. This inaccurately thought to be addressed to Akhsatan by Khanikof. Pakhomow thinks that the title Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm is due to mis-understanding. The poet simply compares the Shirvan Shah with the Patriarch Abraham, father of Isaac. If that could be taken as explanation for the title "Ibrāhīm", what about 'Abū Ishaq'? Pakhomow has got no reply.

② Diwan p. 472 last line. For the birth of this King refer Diwan p. 84, line 1. The position which we have taken above is the correct one. The odes had been wrongly attributed to the king. The theologian was great friend of Khāqānī. To decide, king's actual title we turn to Nizami who informs us that king's titles were - Jalālud Ḍawlat waḍ-Dīn Abul Muḥaffar Malikul Muḥṣṣan Akhsatan b. Minūchīr, Shirwanshah, Khāqān-Kabir or Akbar. See the Kulliyat-i-Khāqānī, Lucknow ed. pp. 278 - 79 and 485 - 91.

Correct pronunciation of Akhsatan.

C. Salomon gives his name as Akhsatan vide his Chetverostigie Khāqānī p. 12, St. Petersburg (1875). Its measure is -v-

B. Dorn pronounces it as Akhistan in his Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kaukasischen Lander und Volker, aus Morgen-landischen Quellen. I. Versuch einer Geschichte der Shirwanische. p. 551, St. Petersburg (1841). He is followed by E. de Karmour see his Manuel de numologie et de Chronologie p. 182, Hanover (1927) and Khanikof in Nelanges Asiatique, III. p. 119.

Prof. E.G. Browne reads it as Akhtisan, in his Literary History of Persia Vol. II. p. 394.

Ethe, R., has got three pronunciations for this word namely Akhsatan, Akhtasan and Akhtashan, see his Catalogue of Persian MSS. India Office, Index. E.A. Pakhomow follows Salomon, in his Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidzhan s prilos ekskursa po istorii shirvan shakhov p. 34 Baku (1923).

It is Akhsatan with Sieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum p. 599 col. 1 and Cl. Huart, article on Khāqānī in the Encyclopaedia of Islam. The different MSS. of Layla wa Majnun of Nizami and Khāqānī have got the following three readings. Akhtsan (اختسان) Akhtshan (اختشان) and Akhtsan (اختسان).

The correct reading of his name is found in the Georgian Chronicle where it is spelt as Aghsatham. So the correct pronunciation is Akhsatan.

Women Khāqānī praised.

Sifwātū Dīn, the queen of Minūchīr II. Khāqānī praised her both separately and jointly with the King. She observed strict seclusion (Purdah) as was customary with the queens of those days. She survived Minūchīr, refer the Diwan pp. 592-93. Khāqānī's devotion to her was more than mere lip-service and he received encouragement from her. (pp. 73-77; 77-79).

Ignatū Dīn. She was the sister of Minūchīr. Khāqānī was much attached to her and could not even some time suppress his intense love for her, see the Diwan pp. 412-15 and 170-72. He had a stealthy look on her beauty, and found that he was in love with her. Some writers confuse Ignatū Dīn and Sifwātū Dīn as one lady and puts her down as the wife of Akhsatan. The corrupt verse in the Diwan of Khāqānī also helps it p. 291. Khanikof concludes that queen Ignatū Dīn was the daughter of Farīburs and grand-child of Farīdūn I, while Pakhomow refutes this view and holds that Ignatū Dīn is the aunt of Akhsatan I and she could not have married him vide his Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidzhan s prilos ekskursa po istorii shirvan shakhov, p. 31 Baku (1923). Khāqānī requested her to get him the permission for Hajj p. 289 of the Diwan.

① Diwan p. 291, lines 12-14.

The professional poets in those days had to fight their way to success and secure patronage of some prince. From this point of view it can be said that Khāqānī was successful as a court-poet. He established his own position which was enviable and unassailable. For some time Khāqānī lived a happy life due to patronage he received and bestowed gifts on his friends.¹¹

Khāqānī had to compose poems on happiness and miseries and at times on victories¹² and reverses of the royal consorts as in the case of Akhsatan who succeeded Minūchihir. With the King he would also praise the Queen and other members of the Royal family.¹³ Nobles of the Courts were eulogised from time to time. Khāqānī lived with them, grew with them and shared equally in their weal and woes. Other rulers and conspirators who raided and plundered their country were considered as common foes. The events and upheavals during the reigns of Shirwānshāhs influenced his thoughts and left a permanent mark on Khāqānī's poetry.

His Imprisonment

It was during the rule of Akhsatan (A.H. 544) that Khāqānī was imprisoned on grounds of bad blood which existed between the two.[§] This happened after his second pilgrimage.¹⁴

11. Gift of Khāqānī to Kāfi'ud Dīn who praised him in a fragment, see Dīwān page 711. Khāqānī gpt rewards pp.64,83,140,152 & 187.

Khāqānī's reply, Dīwān pp. 711 - 712 :

Khāqānī's status at court :

12. Khanikef speaks of one ode on Victory. There are more than one. See Dīwān pp. 33 and 28,124;230;501.

13. Refer 'Women Khāqānī praised', supra p. 22.

14. Badi'us Zamān in his Sukhan-o-Sukhanvarān tries to give a different date of his imprisonment and second Hajj. See his notice on Khāqānī. He gives A.H.565 as the date of his imprisonment when he was 45 according to his calculation. But Khāqānī himself gives "after 50", Dīwān pp. 21 - 22.

Among the grounds of imprisonment Khāqānī also includes the annoyance of the King for not surrendering the Magic Ring, see Asi ed. pp. 71 - 77

§ Refer Dīwān pages 603-4.

According to Khanikof and Browne the period of his imprisonment was 7 months. He was put to jail after the age of fifty, when he had already served the royal court for long thirty years.¹⁵ He was imprisoned in an one-door cell. Here he had to keep quiet so that nothing should escape his tongue which might be carried to the King resulting in longer rigorous imprisonment. He has narrated his sad plight behind the bars and dilapidated condition of the prison cells in his Prison Poems (Habsiya).¹⁶

Khāqānī wrote elegy on the death of Minūchihir and none on the death of Akhsatan which shows that Khāqānī was outlived by Akhsatan.¹⁷

Khāqānī presented himself to the Court of Malik Sayfuddīn Arslan, the ruler of Derband on return from his second Hajj. He was rewarded for his poems written on different festive occasions such as Nauruz and Id. It was the time when Khāqānī gave up drinking and his poems were sung by minstrels.¹⁸ Mujir was attached to this court earlier than Khāqānī. The best of Mujir's poems are in praise of this King, wherein the influence of Khāqānī is evident. The special feature of these poems is that all these end in lyrical notes.¹⁹ The best of Khāqānī's poems are in praise of Muzaffarud Dīn Qizil Arslan Uthman b. Ilidgiz (A.H. 581-87). Khāqānī was much devoted to this ruler. Mujir started his court life under this ruler but could not establish himself as there were other rivals. Both Khāqānī and Mujir have written poems in praise of Ruknuddīn Arslan b. Tughril (A.H. 555-71) who was not an independent ruler. This patron was common to Athir Akhsāktī as well.

15. Dīwan p. 21, and

page 22.

We can infer that Khāqānī was admitted to the Court when over twenty.

/p.54

He was imprisoned in the month of Āb (آب). He left the idea of going to Rome as Ezzuddaula was there to assist him whom he abjured to get permission for going to Holy Land. (p.25) He was interned in Shamakhi p.322, line 7.

16. For details of prison life refer Dīwan pp. 19 - 25, 71 - 73, 214 - 20, 243 - 47, 272 - 76, and 327 - 30.

سے لیں ازین چندین چہ در ہندسی سال - شوم پنجاہ گرم آ شکارا
سے مرا از بعد پنچہ سالہ السلام - نثرید چون جلی بند بریا

His Patriotism

One of the outstanding characteristics of Khāqānī as manifested in his poetry is patriotism - a staunch love for Iran. None can equal him in this respect except Firdausī in early days. The credit goes to Khāqānī who departed from the beaten track and enhanced the cause of National Poetry. It was he who gave proof of his unlimited love for Iran and its past glory, and gave us the heart-rending national lament by which he wanted to awake the slumbering Iran and her unmindful youths. Thousands of Iranis had seen the Ālwan-i-Madāin and Taq-i-Kisrá in ruins. ²⁰ Hundreds of Persian poets passed by them unmoved and unstirred. But Khāqānī has left a master-piece on the ruins in which he had woven the meanings of decayed glory combined with the national pride he took in the dilapidated turrets, mortars and bricks apparently meaningless, hollow and dumb to the common eye. *

The spirit of national feeling and love of freedom which he imbibed when young is seen in him all through his life. The resentment he has shown in a poem against Ghuzz occupation and devastation of the mother-land is ²¹ really remarkable. Knowing full well the nature of his patron Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammed Seljūqī (A.H. 547-54) whom he praised in a poem on 'Id and keeping in view the happy occasion, he has cleverly introduced the subject and invoked him to stand up and snatch away Khorāsān from the hands of the marauders. He assures him of the help of the masses who will storm the beleagured country and God will be on his side.

17. Khāqānī outlived Mīnūchihir refer Dīwān pp. 81, 518 - 27, 538 - 42, and 536.

18. Dīwān pp. 192, ³⁰ Khāqānī left drinking

مینوچهر خورشید خوار است
من غم خورم نه باره من کشم نه سلف
مینستراles sing his poems, Dīwān p. 192.

19. Supra pp. 137, 211 & 397.

Hujir fails to imitate Khāqānī, see his Qas'id.

چنانکه زو نه سر پیچ گوته بوی ما
به ز دار ملک جهان در کشید دفا

به برید عقل ترا که بود ملک صفا
که نهوز بیازار صورت ترا

Khāqānī

به عروس عافیت آنکه قبول کرد مرا - که عمرش بهما دادش لیسریا
سیر فقر ترا بر کشته تاج رضا - تو سر بنجیب همون در کشید ایت خطا

* Dr. J.M. Dandpota thinks that this Lament is inspired by the Arabic poem on Birkah (Pond) by Buhtari - see his Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry p.120

The other rulers whom Khāqānī praised in his poems include Kyālawāshir the ruler of Tibristān (died before A.H. 559), Ala'uddīn Atsiz b. Muhammad Khwārazmshāh (A.H. 521-51) and Sayfuddīn Atābek Mangūr, the ruler of Shamākhī - all of whom rewarded Khāqānī liberally.

There are more than twenty-five personages, other than the princes whom Khāqānī addressed in his poems, to record his gratitude for owing to encouragements and favours received from time to time. To some of these, such as Nasir-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm and Bahāuddīn Saīd b. Ahmad, he was indebted deeply for the guidance and light he received. They left an enduring impression on him and moulded his outlook on life.

There were others whom he eulogized for their service to Islam and country such as ʿAzī-ul-Qazzāt, Sadrūddīn Ahmashād and Shāikhul Islam Umdatuddīn Muhammad b. Asad, Tūsī Nishāpurī. To some he was indebted for a kind word they spoke when it was most needed or a visit they paid when Khāqānī was bed-ridden such as ʿAzī-ul-Qazzāt ʿAlī. He extolled Jamāluddīn Muhammad of Moussel, who did a great service to Khāqānī by recognising his capability as a poet and introducing him to the Caliph who gave him audience - the highest honour which a Persian poet ever attained.²³

20. See pages 362 - 64. the Dīwān.

This is a Qitʿa (Fragment) as Khāqānī himself informs us see Dīwān p. 364 while Ragūf has given it in Panegyrics.

The Service of Iranshahr to Khāqānī. Mirza Husain Kāsimzāda the editor of Iranshahr, Berlin and Husain Khan, Danish have given befitting tributes to Khāqānī in publishing the Alwān-i-Madāin and the Khurshāh-i-Madāin in Persian and Turkish. For the Turkish edition Abd Taufiq known as Fallaguf has written an interesting preface. This was translated by Kāsimzāda and read as a paper in Paris in 1912. Kāsimzāda also published the tasdiq received from different poets in the Alwān-i-Madāin with a befitting preface. The call to the poets was issued in his Iranshahr for composing poems utilising Khāqānī's lines on the Madāin in each stanza of six lines.

21. Dīwān p. 268

and p. 267 - Khordān is in enemies' hand.

22. See pages 362-64.

23. ʿAlī ed. p. 160-64 and Dīwān p. 593.; 225.

p. 65

p. 225

* Refer foot note on p. 14,

Supra.

سے مان کہ دل میرت میں از دیرہ نظر کن مان
ایوان مدائن را آئینہ میرت دان

سے ملک خراسان شیخ باز ستانی ز غنم - بسوی کہی در تمام گنج نظر مکتوم

کا وہ کہ داند زدن بر سر فضاک تیک - کہ شودش پائی بنیاد گورہ و سندان و دم

سے ملک خراسان تراست در کت اغیار غصب - موی ملک توئی گرگ شبان غنم

سے سلطان شہنشاہ و داند خلیفہ ہم

بہر کہ کس نیم ہم معلوم مردم است

سے در حضرت خلیفہ کجا ذکر من شری

گر نیستی مرد زکرامات منہر ش

The patrons of Khaqani and his poems in their praise.

Qizil Aralan Uthman son of Shamsuddin Ilidgis. He was the ruler of Azerbaijan who ruled from A.H. 581-87. His titles were Giti Pahlawan, Muzaffarud Din, Nusratul Islam. He struck coins and read Khutba in his own name. Khaqani has given a true picture of the battles he fought and the victories he achieved. Poems written in his praise appear in the Diwan pp. 123, 139, 286 and 124. Khaqani enlisted himself to his Court in A.H. 556 (Circa) and had written a number of beautiful poems on the occasions such as new spring, 'Id etc.

Rukanud Din Aralan Shah bin Tughril A.H. 555-71. He was brave, powerful and victorious ruler who repulsed his enemies with heavy losses. He was bounteous and dispenser of evenhanded justice to all - the unique qualities which won him great fame and high order of poetry which remain as an immortal treasure in Iraq for times to come. For poems in his praise refer pp. 560, 561 and 562.

Nusratuddin Abul Muzaffar Sepahbud-i-Akram, Kyalawashir - the ruler of Mazandaran, Tibristan. He was an outstanding figure among the rulers of his time and won great fame by establishing the supremacy of Islam. He was a patron of arts and crafts. His achievements were celebrated by poets like Khaqani whom he patronised with gifts and wealth and loved with his sweetness of character. He died about A.H. 559. His death was deeply lamented by Khaqani in the elegy which opens thus :-

His death was the death of benevolence for Khaqani. For poems written in his praise see Diwan pp. 573 and 677. On page 781 in Ode Section there is an elegy on him.

Malik Saifud Din Aralan, the ruler of Darband. His name was Muzaffar see Diwan pp. 941, 188-89 and 191-93. He bore the titles of Saifud Din and Aralan. His father was Muhammed vide Diwan pp. 941 and 187-95, Badiuz Zaman is wrong when he conclude that Muhammed was the original name of Saifud Din Aralan. He was noted for his justice and hospitality.

Ghiyasuddin Muhammed b. Mahmud b. Muhammed b. Malikshah. He was Seljuk of Iraq, used to sit on golden throne. He was a brave warrior and a patron of Khaqani, see pp. 264-69 and pp. 393-94. Khaqani used to drink in the days he praised him.

Saifuddin Atabek Mansur - the ruler of Shamakhi. During his time Shamakhi became another Isfahan and Khaqani addressed him as Sipahdar-i-Islam. He was a good warrior and a ruler. His dancing and singing assemblies were described at length by Khaqani and all the instruments of music have been separately narrated in the qasida, See Diwan p. 125.

Alauddin Atsis bin Muhammed Khawarazmshah. (A.H. 521-551). He was one of the foremost rulers of Khawarazm Shah dynasty. Alauddin Atsis was noted for his benevolence, bravery and staunch religious belief. Khaqani was 24 when he sent a qasida to this ruler on the New Spring Day which at once attracted attention of both the King and his learned Secretary Rashid Watwat. This was the beginning of the tie of friendship which grew day by day and developed into a friendship between them. See his Diwan pp. 96 and 98.

Chapter III. WORKS OF KHAQANI.

1. Diwan - containing 1) Panegyrics (Qasaid), 2) Return Ties and Composite Ties (Tarjiat), 3) Odes (Ghazal), 4) Aṭāt (Fragments), 5) Quatrains (Rubai) and 6) Arabic Writing.

Masnawi - II) Tuhfatul Irāqāyān, III) Khatamul Gharaib IV) Epistolary writings.

1. Diwan.

1) Panegyrics. There are 136 panegyrics out of which 124 are common to Tehran edition of Rasūlī and the Kulliyat-i-Khaqani (Lucknow ed.): 12 are exclusive to Tehran edition.

2. Elegies. 15 elegies of Tehran edition are equal to 14 given in the Kulliyat. Elegy found on pp. 552-57 containing 106 lines is exclusive to Tehran edition. The elegy given at pp. 557-62 of 86 lines is given in the Fragments in the Kulliyat, see pp. 915-22 where it is shown as Tarkīb-band.

3. Odes. There are 293 odes in Tehran edition which are equivalent to 295 of the Kulliyat. The ode given on pp. 809-10 in Tehran edition containing 17 lines is equal to 2 of that of the Kulliyat, pp. 1147-49 of 8 lines in each case are equal to one ode of 16 lines on pp. 1312-13 in Tehran edition. One ode of 8 lines on pp. 981 of the Kulliyat appears as the opening of a panegyric given at pp. 79-80 of Tehran edition. The ode on page 1179 of the Kulliyat is found on page 842 of the Tehran edition, it appears again on page 1179 of the Kulliyat where its rhyme is changed from () to () lines being equal.

1. Refer Diwan pp. 60-61; 111; 310-11; 313-14; 344-48; 352-57; 367-69; 426-33; 454-55; 552-57; & 88-89.

2. Critical Note on Tehran edition of the Diwan. Āqā-i-Ālī Abdur Rasūlī, the teacher of Persian language and literature of Tehran has published the Diwan of Khaqani from Saadat Press, in 1317 Shamsī. It is well printed on good paper. The get-up of the book is good. The editor has given a Preface in which he has given a short biography of the poet, his patrons and contemporaries and rivals. The biographical details are not correct in some places. Some of these have been pointed out in course of our monograph. The style of Khaqani as given is a meagre attempt and does not present Khaqani and his poetry in all its aspects. The editor has collated and compared the text with a number of MSS.

The ode on page 910 of the Kulliyat is found on p. 211 of Tehran edition as second opening (مطلع ثانی). There are two Arabic odes and a few with alternate Arabic and Persian verses. There are 88 odes exclusive to Tehran edition while the Kulliyat has got 81 such odes.

4. Qit'at (Fragments). There are 300 fragments in Tehran edition which are equal to 202 of the Kulliyat - 174 are exclusive to Tehran edition and 10 to the Kulliyat. The so-called 5 quatrains given in fragments of the Kulliyat are not traceable anywhere in the Tehran edition. Eight fragments given as such in the Kulliyat are found in the panegyrics of Tehran edition. Three fragments on pp. 909-15 of the Kulliyat are equal to one panegyric on pp. 210-13 of Tehran edition. Another fragment of the Kulliyat is found in the elegies given in Tehran edition. Two fragments of Tehran edition at pp. 580-81 are equal to one fragment given at pp. 806-808; Two fragments of Tehran edition on pp. 608-609 are available in a piece on pp. 763-64 of the Kulliyat. One fragment pp. 658-59 of the Tehran edition is divided into 2 pieces on pp. 954-55 of the Kulliyat. In 90 odes of Tehran edition we have been able to trace out 92 fragments of the Kulliyat.

5. Quatrains. Out of 342 quatrains of Tehran edition 20 are exclusive to it. The Kulliyat has got 567 quatrains out of which 213 are exclusive to the Kulliyat. There are 5 quatrains twice printed in Tehran edition and 23 in the Kulliyat.

Unfortunately the MSS are not given there. He has included a number of ghazals and thrown out the Arabic portion as given in the Kulliyat of Naval Kishore, Lucknow. Effort has been made to give footnotes and meanings of difficult words with the help of gharib and dictionaries and where these failed him, he has just guessed the meaning. In his works the editor has not included the Khata'ul Gharib. There is an Index given in two parts - 1. Names of persons, 2. Names of places and tribes prepared with some care and attention though not comprehensive. Some time the references to the pages given are wrong such as, on page 962 under Kyala'ishir reference to page 945, while Dawn ends on page 944. The poems have been classified and arranged alphabetically as far as panegyrics, elegies and odes are concerned and shown in a Table of Contents which remained incomplete because quatrains and Qit'at (fragments) are not shown. There are printing mistakes here and there which are not included in the Corrigenda given. Minus these defects the production is a tolerable and far superior than corrupt edition of the Kulliyat of Khaqani by Naval Kishore of Lucknow, India (Bharat).

See p. 828 last Ode fourth line فرز printed instead of فرزند.

Khāqānī as a Panegyric Writer. ✓

The fame which Khāqānī attained rests on his panegyrics which place him amongst the best panegyric writers of Persia. In his panegyrics he has left for us an immense wealth of ideas, imagination, multiplicity of subject, profound knowledge of words and phrases, new constructions and expressions which were novel contributions to the age in which he lived.³ It would be no wonder if a thesaurus of these phrases, constructions, words and idioms were compiled sometime.⁴)

No other poet has enriched the Persian language and literature to the extent Khāqānī has done. Khāqānī was much ahead of his age. He was original and creative. He enlarged the commonly adopted venues of panegyrics and enriched them by adding new thoughts, new aspects, treating them both objectively and subjectively. His biographical aspects, his experiences in this world of friendship and infidelity, all found their proper place in his writings. His panegyrics can serve as the best source for building the history of Shirwānshāhs and other contemporary rulers. Panegyric-writing was a profession in those days. Poets who followed it had to earn their sustenance by the dint of their pen. In those days of autocratic regime demands had to be put in timely and reminders sent for delay by the court-poets but not of the nature to annoy the ruler.

He opens a panegyric with the description of spring or autumn, some time narrating dawn, giving drinking-call, or taking us direct into the drinking bouts and ending it in dancing, singing or good wishes.⁵ He very naturally introduces his subject and brings in his patron so that readers really enjoy his poems. His endings are effective and leave an impression. Some time he speaks of love and introduces a lyrical note conveniently at any stage.

Subjects of Khāqānī.

3. Spring - Dīwan pp. 42, 44, 48, 77, 79, 79 - 82, 82 - 84, 103 - 119, 140 - 43, 181, 187 - 95, 195 - 99, 199, 289, - 93, 337 - 49, 426 - 33, 493 - 503, 512 - 519 and 529.
 Morning - 33, 45 - 49, 89, - 94, 125, 220, 387 - 93, 442 - 47, and 515 - 519.
 Drinking - 33, 90, 113 - 119, 176, 442 - 47, 463 and 469.

His facile pen, power of expression, artistic treatment coupled with enchanting metre and well-selected rhymes place him higher than a panegyric-writer like Rudakî or Mufizzi, Sanâi or in^{no} way lower than Anwarî. He is one of the best, if not the best -writers that Persia ever produced. Western authors like Browne and Field who accuse him of wholesale toughness of composition, intricacy of ideas and far-fetchedness of similes and metaphors have not done due justice to him. Some of his poems are for the learned scholars only. In this respect he resembles his contemporary poet Anwarî whose difficult poems also demanded commentaries. This was not the fault of Khâqânî but was the fault of the age. Brevity or simplicity in the use of speech was rather unknown in those days. The verses abounding in rhetorical figures, far-fetched metaphors and intricate similes are not large in number. Whatever he wrote had gone into the *Diwan*. He never tried to select and revise. Parallel thoughts and ideas are repeated in some of his poems but he has always expressed them in a way that they do not sound pedantic. The other characteristic of his style is that he will choose one subject and will continue giving us all the cognate aspects, all terms, techniques and associated ideas one after another. Khâqânî wrote poems on occasions of victories, childbirth and marriage but we seldom find him demanding money or asking favours. With him mostly art was for art's sake. From his panegyrics and strophe poems - (Return Ties and Composite Ties - *Tarjiat*) we get an insight into his power of keen observation and study of nature. His deep knowledge of Persian and different sciences gave a new shape to the ideas he wanted to express.

Dancing - pp. 143, 408, 443, and 528

Extempore - pp. 61 - 65 and 226 - 31.

Id - pp. 73 - 77, 119 - 125, 126 - 28, 131, 136, 151 - 52, 187 - 95, 226 - 31, 264 - 69
401 - 7, 407 - 11, & 433 - 40.

On self - pp. 3, 18, and 19 - 21.

Birth of the prince - pp. 174 - 76.

Band-i-Baqalânî - p. 45.

Sadd-i-Baqalânî - pp. 25, 45, and 569.

Hajj - pp. 94 - 101, 101 - 5, 220 - 26, 259 - 64, & 377.

Castle - p. 592.

Khâqânî has given caption to some of his panegyrics as on page 42; *Muntahâi*, p. 89, *Qirgûl Hajas*, p. 94, *Nushatûl Arwah wa Nushatûl Aghbah* p. 101 *Kinsûlrehas* and p. 421 *Sifirûl Zamîr*.

His style in the beginning was an imitation of Sanai¹⁷, but later on he established his own style^x which many writers of his time and later period tried to emulate with little success. Simple thoughts and ordinary events are expressed some time in learned style and rendered extraordinary. The rigors of established rules of rhymes and constructions are sometime not followed by him. His philosophic, mystical and Islamic knowledge has contributed a lot in making him put a seal of individuality and scholarship on his writings. His style was just the natural way of writing of that period when learning was at its acme in Islamic world including Persia. His was the profound influence on the panegyric writers like Qaani¹⁸, Hakim Shifai¹² closely followed his style and thought himself in no way less than Khaqani⁸. Qaani thought himself "second Khaqani" on account of his faithful imitation of his style.

His Prison Poems

His prison poems give interesting details of internment, treatment of political prisoners, and conditions of prison cells. There was total absence of amenity or special treatment held out to political internees of modern days. Khaqani was put in jail for no fault of his. As a petty court poet he exerted no influence and was not in league with outside powers. In one of his Prison Poems (Habsiya) he has shown his profound knowledge of Christianity, Old and New Testaments, Christian saints, churches and the Holy Book. This is unique in Persian literature.⁶ Khaqani has written 6 prison-poems in all, of which one is very famous. It gives us a vivid picture of his captivity, his hardships and his feelings. The language and diction of this poem is totally different from that of all other poems of this category. Besides these he has got a few fragments written in jail. 7

4 The Farhang-i-Diwan is mentioned as one of the Sources of the Farhang-i-Jahangiri, p. 211 No. 354, Fihrist-i-Kutub Khana-i-Madrassa-i-Ali Sipah Salar, by Haddiq. Other lexicons also quote Khaqani as authority.

5. Diwan p. 284

6. Ibid p. 19.

7. For Prison Poems see f.n. 7 on p. 34 supra.

x Diwan p. 213.

سے این تانہ سخن کہ کردم ابراع — در روی زمین روان بینم
سے دیوان مرا کہ گنج عرش است — بین اللہ گنج یان بینم

سے طرز غریب من است فتنی خرد را طراز — شرب برین من است شرب سخن را شمار

His Return and Composite Ties (Tarjīat).

The strophe poems can be placed amongst his best writings. Those are of elegiacal and panegyric nature. Poets like Qasbi had tried to imitate him but with little success.⁹

Khagani as an Elegy-writer.

Unlike panegyrics his elegies are simple, serene, forceful, accurate and effective. We are moved by his pathos and feelings. We feel depressed and morose when he spells such a mood. In his elegies one finds the pangs of human soul lacerated. His selection of words, diction, arrangement of phrases and constructions, rhyme and rhythm are most suited to the situations and occasions. The metaphors and similes do find their places in his elegies for better effect. Often he wrote on the demise, say of his wife, cousin, son, uncle, guide or Imam, just to quench the fire of his heart with which he naturally burns. His elegiacal writings are not confined to one particular kind of verse. These can be found in the panegyrics, fragments and odes even. These vary in size and volume. Some of these are of 106 lines. He had used different metres on different occasions, some time keeping both *qafiya* (قافیه) and *radif* (رذیف) and some time without them. Other outstanding characteristics of his elegy-writing are that he gives us bulletin after bulletin on health progress of the dying man, medical treatment offered, nursing arranged, indication of signs in the sick man, how the modern science of medicine kept him hoping against hope, his beliefs in sorcery, charms, and Islamic traditions, rites and ceremonies connected with death and the dying. In fact his elegies of this nature are store-house of information wherein his time and social beliefs are reflected.¹⁰

1) See the Poems of Rashid *Diwan* pp. 158 to 63; 163 to 67.

10 Cf. *The Armoohan*, vol. 18, No. 2, p. 81.

ایمانی سبب کم
پس از قرن ہشتم و ہنم مادر روزگار از زارین سحر و نظای عظیم و مرگیتی از آوردن فرزندی و سولوی و خیام و خواجہ
و رایت ہر از پرورش سنائی و کمال الدین و انوری و خاتمانی زبون و عاجز ماند؟ — عجز ہرچ ہستہ از قلم صاحب

Elegy on Beauty : Dorian Grey of Khagani:

His elegy on Abul Fawaris, who died in his teens, is an elegy on beauty. It is the Death of Beauty captured in heavenly moments in verse, unequalled and unparalleled. Khagani could find heavenly beauty in human figures. Its death would turn the nightingale of Khagani into a dirge, or lament. The whole world bewails and mourns with him. The Shelley-like beauty of Abul Fawaris, the Dorian Grey of Khagani had a large number of admirers. The damsels of the town wept for him, snapped their faces and scattered their hair. The whole of Shirwan is plunged into grief. The young boy had not yet seen the ups and downs of life. Even the Angel of Death felt shy when he saw the delicate beauty of his victim.

His love for Rashid

Perhaps no father had wept more for his son than Khagani. There are at least 8 poems in which he lamented for Rashid - "the Fruit of his life".¹² The tears which flowed, the cries which resounded, and the grief under weight of which Khagani's heart almost broke, are all recorded and preserved by him in his elegies on his son. Khagani had so many hopes of this promising lad. But the Providence suddenly snatched him away leaving the beloved father mourning. The elegy is put in the mouth of his dying son - an innovation to his credit. The poem is a landmark in Persian literature.

عز شایسته قافی نگار خانانی ثانی

Qasani thought himself "second Khagani" on account of his imitation of his style.

ه زه حسان سحر آری، سر انگیز قافی — که حسان ایچم احسنت گوید از خاک شرویش
نیت قافی شقایق ناکند خاقانیم — ورنه میرانی اگر پائے کم از خاقانیم نیست

Shifai

Cf. The Armoghan, vol: 18, Issue 9, pp. 601 and 613.

7.. Prison poems refer pp. 19 - 25, 71 - 73, 214 - 20, 243 - 47, 272 - 76, & 327-30 & 58.

Cf. The poems of Falaki who was also interned in the same fortress Shabaran some time: (Dr. Hadi Hasan).

12. Diwan pp. 417-421.

421.

هم درین ناله خانه فرمایم — که برین جائے اختیام نیست
شخصه بزار غم گرفتارم — در هر نفس جان رسد کارم
محبوس چرا شوم نمیدانم — دانم که نه دردم و نه طر آم
Ch. Diwan P. 322
Khagani was interned in Shamakhi.

چون بشما فی ترا کرده قضا شیر بند
نام شما فی تورن مصرعیم ساختن

Khaqani as an Ode-writer

Most of the writers and biographers of Khaqani at home, in India, Pakistan or Europe have not given him the appreciation he merits as an ode-writer. Badiuz Zaman is one of the pioneers who have given a very short study of Khaqani as an ode-writer in his Sukhan-o-Sukhanvaran. According to him Khaqani can be put as "one of the best ghazal writers of his time". Recently the Irani periodicals and magazines have started publishing and reproducing his odes and offering his Diwan as prize in literary competition.

Khaqani was the first to break all the old barriers and watertight compartments of ode-writing. Thoughts got more avenues and soared higher, ideas broadened and deepened at the same time. Now ode took into its folds a large number of motley subjects which was considered forbidden and un-ode-like by his predecessors. To Khaqani goes the credit of introducing a new element of Wasukht in Persian ode. ¹⁴ Hitherto the Persian poets had fallen into the abject position of praising their imaginary beloveds in spite of all their harshness and tortures. Their beloveds would favour others, while the true lovers would waste themselves in separation and disappointment. It was Khaqani who gave the lesson of self-determination and self-assertion to the out-moded ode-writers and introduced a note of discard for the tyrannical beloved and denounced her. This strong pronouncement is called "Wasukht". Contemporary history, biographical information and lyrical notes have been melted together and moulded into something pseudo-historical. In such odes he has drawn his own conclusions and left a moral lesson for us. Khaqani has written full-length odes carrying the same subject right from the beginning ¹⁵ to the end. His religious odes are markedly different from mystical ones.

13. The Monthly Ainda Vol. 3 No. 10, page 531, ode of Khaqani. The same ode appears in the Diwan, page 767. The Armoghān No. 8 for October and November, 1931 pp. 538-39, the ode given there appears on pp. 726 of the Diwan. For the Diwan (MS) offered as prize refer p. 833, No. 11 of October and November, 1931 of the Armoghān (Tehran).
14. Diwan p. 790. درهم عالم توئی از بهر برخوئی تر
15. Ghuzz Invasion and destruction of Khorasan p. 778, on his sickness 776 and death of his wife pp. 781 & 775 سیر خبر یافتی که یار تو گم شد — جام جم از دست اختیار تو گم شد

نگه دردا که دل نماند و بر او نام درد ماند!

In his religious odes he has utilised the lyrical diction and given it a garb which will not appear religious on the face of it.¹⁶ We have to break the surface ice to fathom it. To a common reader such odes may sound like love-poems. The pursuit for Divinity is put in the language of the ode and in lyrical phrases. Khagani called himself "a mystic lover" (صوفی عاشق دل) his *Diwan* "Heavenly treasure" (گنجینه) and his poetry as "the voice of the hidden" (لسان الغیب or منطق الطیر). This was on account of his spiritual thoughts and mystic ideas in which he was ahead of others. This found its perfection in Hafiz. Khagani was a practical man and he could not sever his worldly connections altogether and give himself up to "wine and beloved" and thereby appear as other-worldly and celestial as Hafiz in his odes. His lyrics are written in the language of love. The throbbings of heart are caught in words and feelings are expressed in verses. The heavenly moments, when two young hearts yearn for each other, pine or unite, are well recorded for us. The affairs of love described by him have got both thrills of love, joy of prospective union, pangs of separation, despair at the advances of rivals and dejection at favours shown to others. The gloomy nights of evil days when dark shadows deepen, the starry and bright nights of union when sun-shine and youth blossom, spring and love flow and nature smiles are all woven into the tapestry of his odes. The more we read his odes the more we feel love ourselves as if he has expressed our thoughts and feelings, our joys and sorrows in his diction and language.¹⁷ It is this spell of his odes which makes him the best ode-writer of his age. Anwarî, Nizâmî, Jamâluddîn Isfahânî, Rudakî, Unsarî, Sanâî, Majîr, Athîr Akhsâikî, Abul 'Alâ Ganjavî, Ashharî, Khwâjû-i-Kirmânî and others could not reach the high standard he attained in this domain of writing.¹⁸

1. *Diwan* p. 274 line 10

16. *Diwan* pp. 693. & 772.

Diwan

17. Pages 700, 708, 726, 736, 750 - (Ode to wind), 759, 762, 763-64, 771, 772, 792, 809-813, 819, 829, 849, 860, 863, 865, 867, and 890.

سے آباد ہر آن شب کہ شبِ وصلتِ مابود — زیرِ اکرمِ شب بود کہ تاریخِ بقاء بود

سے دردِ کہ مرہستِ برہم — در عافیتِ عورتِ ہی ہم نروشم

18. Writes Shifai — روشِ دلکشِ خانائی از —

سے آتشِ سودائی تو خونِ کردہ جگر

بر بادِ شرہ در صحرِ سودائی تو سر

سے طرزِ عشقتِ شغائی سخنِ تازہ ما

The spirit of "Carpe diem" for which Khayyam is known equally finds its place in Khagani's writing. Youth, spring, wine and love are the main pillars of his odes. Khagani much earlier than Sadi introduced the ethical note in his odes. ¹⁹ His moral teachings are the dicta of the age in which he lived. The light he gave and thoughts he expressed on morality, good conduct and decorum were the order of the day. These were Islamic in essence and workable in practice. Some of his deliberations are his personal experience under certain circumstances which may not hold good in the changed modern environs. Khagani has very boldly denounced the social evils and pests like hypocrisy, lip-service, insincerity, corrupt practices, injustice, back-biting, show of power and discrimination between man and man along with unhealthy ideas and un-Islamic thoughts which were prevalent due to Assassinate activities and its other off-shoots; liberalisation of thoughts on account of assimilation of Greek learning and other foreign elements; blood contact due to wealth and the extremes professed by different broad schools of philosophers, and advancements of co-relationship in cosmopolitan metropolis of Baghdad - the Seat of Caliphate where heterogenous thoughts and social activities were on the cross-road of modernity. ²⁰

19. Diwan pp. 358 - 59 and 451-52.

20. See the poem on p. 691, Diwan which opens thus:-

ایں بغداد را زمان بینی

And p. 682 .

سرستم و تشنه آب در ده
آن آتش گون گلاب در ده
خامانی را دے بخلوت
بستان و بدو شرباب در ده

در صبح آن راج ریحانی بخواه
دانه مرغیان روحانی بخواه
ساقی چوں اشک داودی برگ
از سری روی سبانی بخواه

زبان را آشکار می بده — تسایران را بوسه پنهانی بخواه
گر بستی دست یابی بر فلک — زو قصاص جان خامانی بخواه

ایں بغداد را زمان بینی

Khagani as a Qith-writer

It will be rather difficult for a critic to reconcile the fact that a poet thought to be "obscure, extremely artificial, and even pedantic" by a certain group of writers, could have produced Qith (fragments) on motley subjects in simple, chaste, vigorous and forceful style to such an extent that these could be understood and appreciated even by a common man. Perhaps some one may not believe that these fragments could be the composition of Khagani. It is to the credit of Khagani that he has produced fragments on their set principles of composition. He opens a fragment without ceremony or long introduction, takes us direct into the subject-matter and spins the yarn right to the end artistically without wasting any word. He determines its length keeping in view the importance of the subject. He has not unnecessarily dwelt on any aspect, portrayed any picture or introduced any parable. Like a memoir-writer or a chronicler he records the events of every-day life and dilates on each of them in a journalistic way. He never hesitates to put forward his views. In some fragments he has dealt with moral philosophy and ethics, every-day science and contemporary history. In others he has denounced pride or critically compared his poetry with that of Muizzi, Rudaki, and others. In some fragment he establishes his supremacy over Sana'i who was some time his ideal in poetry. Fragments wherein he praises Tajuddin and Izzuddin are laudatory. Fragments written in memory of Jamaluddin, the Chief Minister of Moussel who was his guide, or Nasiruddin Ibrahim - the saint of Ganjah are elegiacal. Some of the fragments have got biographical value as the one which tells us of his heart disease, or the one in which he has given the touching picture when he has to say good-bye to his native place Shirwan. In some of these fragments we read Khagani, his nature, his habits, and inclinations.²¹

21. Refer Diwan pp. 659, 663 and 668. on Departure from Shirwan; p. 666. on Bundar Razi; pp. 667 and 687. on friendship; p. 679. on Freedom; p. 672. on old age; pp. 673 and 686. on Rasid; pp. 681, 680 and 690. on self-praise, on Rudaki and Unsari; pp. 683 and 691 on Baghdad.

Laudatory pp. 106 - 8; on self p. 107; construction of palace p.111, p.441, p.394. Modern charity pp.633 - 34.

From his childhood he had got the habit of forbearance and tolerance. He would bestow gifts on some one who deserved them. Some of his fragments are religious in nature ^{***} as the one in which he gives thanks to God, or the one in which he dreams of the Prophet. To illustrate his graceful expression we simply refer to the fragments in which he speaks of old age - age which dawns equally on kings and beggars; expresses his gratitude for 'Alī, 'Izzuddin and for Ḥasamuddin the Chief Justices; expounds his philosophy of friendship which even today holds good, if allowance is made for the typical influence of the age in which he lived; narrates the kindness and the pains which his mother took for him; replies to the philosopher - Afzaluddin for his greetings sent on Khagani's diplomatic mission to Sultan Arslan; denounces the tyrannical minister or urges Minūchihr to chastise the Prince Akhsatan who failed to show due respect to him; describes Baghdad and its social life with all its modernity. Some time his views are conflicting. The reason for this is that he records his experience of a particular moment on a subject and this may be different at another. His fragments are better than those of his contemporary poets. /=/

/=/ . Rasuli has given Fragments in Odes Section of the Diwan which is apparently a mistake refer pp. 697-8, 775, 794-5, 769-70, 711, 711-12, 713-14, 714, 726, 730, 768-69, 770-71, 776, 778-79, 782, 783, 784, 785-86, 860, 773-74, 799-800, 798-99, 880, 803, 809, 810-11, 809-10, , 813-14, 812-13, 828-29, 832-33, 835-36, 840-41, 859-60, 961-62 and 81

Cf. the Armoghan, Vol. 18, Issue 9 p. 601.

Continued from Foot-note 23. from next page.

This also appears in India Office Library MS. of the Sharh of the Tuhfa.

This piece is not found in Naval Kishore or Agra edition of the Tuhfa and in Sharh of Tuhfa.

24. See f. note 16 p. 36 supra.

* * See Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, chapter - Mysticism in Islam p. 56-57 by Dr. Tarachand (Allahabad).

Cf. The 'Shikwah' of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal and 'Bidrohi' of Nazrul Islam, the famous Bengali poet.

) (Baghdad pp. 672 - 73 & 691; Un-Islamic movements p. 173, Hasan bin Sabbah p. 186 .

His Satires.

Khāqānī never claims to be a satirist. On the other hand, he assures us that it would not be possible for us to find out even a single satire or inelegant piece of writing in both of his Diwāns of Arabic and Persian.²² In the presence of this internal evidence how can we account for a dozen of satires found in his fragments with some occasional uncharitable remarks about others in his panegyrics and the Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyīn? If the episode of Abū 'Alā was a fact, we must observe that there were occasions for Khāqānī's strong pronouncements. The provocations which came from Waṭwāt might have given him some reasons to denounce Waṭwāt and his writings. The difficulty which Mujīr created for himself and Khāqānī, might have compelled Khāqānī to curse Mujīr in strong terms.²³

It was natural for Khāqānī, well-versed as he was in Islamic thought and philosophy, to cry down unorthodox philosophers and ministers who were doing dis-service to humanity in his opinion. While putting in his own claims to establish his poetical attainments over others Khāqānī might have denounced poets like Mūizzī and Athīr Akhsaiktī.

Khāqānī as a Quatrain writer

Khāqānī may be placed among the best quatrain-writers of the Persian literature. His quatrains are written in the proper rūbāi metres unlike those of Bābā Ṭahīr 'Uryān of Hamadān. His quatrains have got both diction and thought, and are not simple and provincial utterings of a countryside. He combines in him the religious and theosophical touch of Abū Saīd Abīl Khāir, the half-didactic and half-ethical fusion of Shāykh al-Ansarī and the spirit of pious resignation.²⁴ The lyrical note which he introduced has prepared the way for Hafiz. Love is a common to all, and is found all over the Persian world and literature. But Khāqānī's approach to love is his own. The stages he covered are there for us.

22. See Diwān page 628.

For his nature refer Diwān pp. 647, 659 and 660.

23. For his satires refer pp. 537, 659, 658, 659, 662, 666, 673, 686, 687, 628, 632, 691, 241, 375 and 354. The Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyīn MS. Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal No. 461.

24. بینی سگ همگی را درین کوئی — بهم سرخ قفا و بهم سیر روی
See after footnote 21 on prepage.

از تو دیوان تباری و دری — یک بهجا و بخش هرگز کس نبرد

We feel as if we are in love when we read his expressions of heart revealed in his quatrains. His philosophy of life is based on the school of thought called Jabr - the doctrine of predestination wherein a human being acts within the four walls of compulsion and is not master of his action. Whatever a man does he does it subservient to His intentions. This was at variance with the Mutazalite - the Broad Church theology. Some time one has to suffer for no sins of one's own. Probe as much as one possibly can, one will not get at its cause. Khagani too believed that way. Unlike Khayyam he never stood against God for all this depending on his knowledge. His philosophy is well-balanced and monitored by rational thought. True friendship, fidelity and justice, according to Khagani are long dead in this world.

Freedom of thought and action is his birth right and he would not sacrifice it at any cost. In this respect he is markedly different from other quatrain writers. He believes that it is God Himself who will come to the rescue of human beings on the Day of Reckoning. We find in his quatrains the gay spirit with revelling of youth, love and spring which can compare well with Khayyam's.²⁵ As a poet it was natural for him to capture, in his poetry, those heavenly moments which he spent in merrymaking before it was too late to narrate them with all their fire and glow.

The didactic and ethical note was taken to higher pitch by Khagani which found its perfection in Sadi's writings. Khagani's quatrains are instructive and moral in tone. He expects us to be above board, candid and open in our dealings, chastened in moral character, faithful and serviceable to others. In this trend of poetry Sadi is definitely indebted to Khagani. The quatrains of Khagani abound in pithy sayings which may become popular. Such gnomic quatrains or pithy dicta are the salt of society. These are the total result of a long experience and wisdom compressed into quatrains.

25. It is wrongly believed that the fame of Umar Khayyam rests on this spirit.

See the Shikwah of Umar Khayyam, by Whinfield (Calcutta).

Umar's POETRY PRINTED IN THE KULIYAT, NAVIL KISHORE ED.

pp. 1274 - 1368; 1288 - 1365; 1352 - 1351; 1308 - 1328; 1309 - 1339; 1292 - 1324;
1325 - 1348; 1295 - 1338; 1270 - 1327; 1340 - 1356; 1279 - 1288; 1284 - 1300;
1293 - 1300; 1316 - 1360; 1326 - 1348; 1343 - 1351; 1269 - 1288; 1281 - 1345;
1280 - 1336; 1280 - 1335; 1297 - 1338; 1271 ; 1277 - 1343; 1295 - 1332;
1295 - 1354; 1300 - 1352; 1320 - 1339; 1331 - 1345.

* Cf. The 'Shikwah' of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal & 'Bidrchi' of Nazurul Islam, the famous Bengali poet. Diwan p. 21 & pp. 254 - 55.

His mystical quatrains sometime appear as if these are the compositions of Abū Saīd Abīl Khair. Akinness of thought and diction is so close. His mysticism is based on the Sufism prevalent in those days. In this particular line he was trained well. Sanāi was his ideal and he did succeed in imitating him. His life at Court and his disappointment in worldly affairs once again drove him to seclusion and asceticism. He turned a mystic in the later part of his life and abstained from worldly pursuits. His mysticism is not theoretical but based on personal experience. We can have historical and biographical information also from his quatrains.

After a thorough search of his and Khayyam's quatrains we have been able to find out one "wandering quatrain" common to both. 'Umar Khayyam's reads :-

سنگرز جهان چه طرف برستم، یخ — وز حاصل عمر چیست در دستم، یخ
شعب طلم ولی چو بنشتم، یخ — من جام جسم ولی چو بشکستم، یخ

Khāqānī's reads:-

س دانی ز جهان چه طرف برستم، یخ — وز حاصل ایام چه در دستم، یخ
شعب طلم ولی چو بنشتم، یخ — آن جام جسم ولی چو بشکستم، یخ

In some quatrains we find all the four hemistich having rhymes, which is against the established rules now. It was not very strictly observed in the 5th and 6th centuries. Khayyam and other writers have also got the same defect. Idioms and phrases are well-used and give a new flavour and polish to his quatrains.

His quatrains can compare well with those of any of the best writers of quatrains in grace of style, diction, force and appeal. His thoughts and ideas are the same as in some of Khayyam's quatrains. Like Khayyam, Khāqānī was not fortunate in having translators and interpreters to present him to the world in a language understood mostly all over and thereby affording facility of translation in still more languages. Khanikof, his Russian biographer and even Saleman²⁷ who particularly wrote on Khāqānī's quatrains did little service to him.

26. Whinfield No. 133, page 91 with translation on p. 90.

Rasulī, Dīwan page 902.

Chapter IV - HIS MAGNAVI POEMS

1. The Tuhfatul 'Iraqayn

Of all the works of Khaqani, the Magnavi - TUHFATUL 'IRAQAYN, 'the Gift for both the 'Iraqs',¹ is the most popular and widely read. It was total different in style, treatment and subject-matter from other magnavis so far written in Persian; different from the religious and mystical compositions of Sana'i called Hadiqah; different from the romances and heathen stories versified by Nizami in his magnavis. This new literary effort was a class by itself. It was on account of its new aspects that Khaqani called it "a revealed book".² This poem of more than thirty-one hundred couplets was composed in "forty days" as Khaqani himself informs us³ and dedicated to his patron Jamsaluddin, the minister to the ruler of Mosul, while returning from his second Hajj.⁴ His Tuhfatul 'Iraqayn is a travel poem. In this itinerary he has given us the route to and back from Hajj, his passion for travel, his experiences on the way, places and shrines he saw, personages he visited, rites and rituals of the Hajj performed, natural scenery, mountains, rivers and deserts which came in his way, habits and manners of the people he met, climatic catastrophes and hardships he experienced.⁵ Both in the early part and towards the end he has appended some biographical information.⁶ He has divided the Tuhfa in five chapters (Maqala) which are further sub-divided into sections (Fasl). No particular care is taken about the length of any of these. The Dedication of this Magnavi, unlike the modern practice, appears in the end of the book just before thanksgiving to God. Some critics feel that this Magnavi fails in leaving an impression or drawing any moral and therefore falls short of one of the objects of a magnavi. Author like Abul Fazl may be inclined to condemn it as an 'unwholesome piece of writing'. We need not try to find moral drawn towards the end out of this Magnavi because it is not written on the old set pattern.

2. Agl ed. p. 399.

1. Ibid p. 399.

3. Ibid p. 398.

4. Ibid p. 397 - 99.

5. Description of mountains, river and hunting grounds - pp. 43, 50, 130, 154, 153, 156, 199, 200, 201, 221 and 278-79. This also refers to shrines and places visited. Personages pp. 58, 59, 70, 82, 79, 138, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150, 159, 168, 170, 272, 213, 326, 361, 370, 376, 379, 390 and 393 of Agl ed. Catastrophe p. 44.

(+) Aqa Tarbiyat puts it at 32 thousand.

عمر این تحفه گراسه ایست محترت
عمر این تحفه عراق و شام را پس
من آینه گوهر از سر ملک - رانم بجهل صباح در سک
این عقد که ختم شد بیا مش - ازوے مگر وز من نظامش

It appears from the opening chapter that at the time of writing this *Masnavi* heathen and un-Islamic practices and propaganda were at their high. Therefore *Khāqānī* had to select a celestial body, the Sun, as his companion in travel. He could find none worthy of his company. The poems addressed to the Sun appear at regular intervals in each chapter. *Khāqānī* has devoted lavish praises to the Sun which may set one to think if *Khāqānī* was a Sun-worshipper.⁹ Our investigations could not establish this view. *Khāqānī* has corrected himself and to dispel this doubt he invited the Sun to the Earth and praised her.¹⁰ Like his other writings in the *Diwan* this *Masnavi* also abounds in poems on self-affliction and straitened circumstances.⁸ From the professions of his mother, father, grand-father and uncle he has derived very original ideas. Borrowing the diction and terminology of their professions he has evolved poems exalting their trades and evincing his pride in them all.¹¹ Some of the episodes make good history, details of which may not be available from any other source.¹² The language of the poem is chaste, its diction simple, and its style lucid with occasional interfusion of superb ideas and new thoughts. Within the set limits of the metre in which it is written perhaps *Khāqānī* could not do better. It being among his early hasty compositions much attention is not paid to selection of words, and the poem was not revised and properly edited as a whole. Here in this *Masnavi* we come across words and constructions which have gone out of use, being archaic and obsolete. This is bound to happen when we read a poet of over 800 years remote from us. *Tarbiyat* has written an article on "the Persian *Masnavi* and their authors" in which he has also dealt with *Khāqānī* and his *Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyīn*.¹³ In his view the *Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyīn* is a travel poem and was written in A.H. 552 while Ibn-i-Yūsuf gives A.H. 551 as the date of its composition. We are in favour of the latter date. *Hakīm Shifā'i* has written another *masnavi* of the same name which is a short one and cannot be taken as a proper imitation.¹⁵

6. Biographical pp. 41-43, 62-66 and pp. 330, 335, 336, 338, 340, 347, 349, 353 and 357.

8. *Asi* ed. pp. 397 - 400. *Tarbiyat* wrongly thinks that biographical information is given in the end only.

7. *Ibid* pp. 5 - 7. Un-Islamic movement.

and 382-385. *Asi* ed.

Helplessness of human life p. 1.

No justice or faithfulness left.

سپید است بر آستان دینے — دجل ہزار و مہری نے
شد فتنہ بدست خواب تہور سماگہ نہ شور ز جیش صر
از نور اللہ گرفتہ صباح — شب کردہ صباح اہل صباح

9. *Tarbiyat* estimates that one-fifth of the *Tuhfa* is devoted to Sun.

11. The Khatmul Gharaib ::

Besides the Tuhfatul Iragayn, Khaqani wrote another magnavi called the Khatmul Gharaib which is least known.

There are only two copies of its MS. available in Iran. Kutub-Kha Ali Madrasah-i-Sipah Salar, Tehran, is fortunate in having these MSS. This magnavi is not available in any other library in Iran. Pakistan and Bharat where the Tuhfatul Iragayn was published many times, have no copy of this Magnavi. European libraries have not got any Magnavi of his except an un-named Magnavi of Khaqani in Bodleian library (Oxford).¹⁶ It is an incomplete one containing only 638 lines. After careful examination of the Tehran and the Bodleian MSS. we have found that both are identical. There is very little difference in the text. The title of the Magnavi does not appear on the Bodleian or the Tehran copies. Incidentally Ibn-i-Yusuf (Zia Haddiq), the cataloguer of the Kutubkhana-i-Ali Madrasah-i-Sipah Salar had come across the Preface of the Tuhfatul Iragayn wrongly described and styled as the Khatmul Gharaib.¹⁷ As the Tuhfatul Iragayn at no time was named as such and as the scribe wrote this name in A.H. 1053 Ibn-i-Yusuf was inclined to believe that Khaqani wrote this Magnavi and that its name might have been Khatmul Gharaib. It has not been possible for us to find out any internal or external evidence to decide the issue, i.e. the title of the book. Any how we are in agreement with Ibn-i-Yusuf for fixing the authorship based on the treatment, language and way of thinking, and say that it may be the production of Khaqani.

Now the other point left for us to consider is - why this Magnavi is incomplete if it was written earlier than the Tuhfatul Iragayn. Possibly there can be two reasons for this:

16. Mentioned at No. 560 by Ethe in his Catalogue.

17. Ibn-i-Yusuf in his Fihrist.

* The pages should be 464 - 466 and not 466 - 46.

9. Asi ed. pp. 7, 19, 23, 35, 40, 116, 118, 123, 127, 130, 150 and 203.

10. Ibid pp. 123-24 and 124-27.

11. Ibid pp. 334-36 - Carpentry : 336-38 - Cookery and 331-41 - Medicines.

:: Cf. Diwan p. 360 line 1.

(1) Khāqānī left it unfinished (2) The latter portion perished due to vicissitudes of time. The first presumption does not stand to reason, when we have seen above that the fame which Khāqānī had as a mystic writer at the time of writing the Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyān could not have been earned during "the 40 days of writing". To all intents and purposes the Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyān which was still in the making, could not have gone into the hands of readers and elsewhere so quickly due to bad communication and very limited means of transport of those old days to earn for him this fame within such a short time. The comparison of the Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyān with the Khatmul Gharaib will make it abundantly clear that the latter one is an earlier attempt. Its language, thought and treatment indicate the same. It constitutes a good imitation of the Hadiqah. As to the second presumption we are inclined to think that it was stolen along with some other writings in his Document Bag and the first portion came down to us in such an obscure way.

Its subject-matter:- God, the Almighty, is the Creator of the Universe. He gives sustenance to every one. Under His order the whole world obeys the Man. The humble creation of Human Being, his ignorance and simplicity. Wisdom and its part in this world. The external manifestation unfolds the inner significance; the soul and human wisdom. The light of Faith and Darkness of Infidelity, their co-relationship. The eminence of Man. The Perfection of His Creation.

12. Ibid pp.130-35. The contention and camps of Muhammad bin Mahmūd; pp. 70-75 - Magic ring and connected affairs; pp. 216-18. The predictions of certain group regarding heavy storms and typhoon.
13. The Monthly Mihar, pp. 656-61, 7th issue, vol.5th. The Haft Āmān, this magnavī is not mentioned there.
14. Fihrist (Catalogue) of Zia' Hada'iq Tab-i-Yusuf.
15. Kulliyat-i-Shifai, f. 69 v., the opening line of his Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyān runs as

سے آدر تو تحفہ العراقین

وی زہر تو شکر مذاقین

سے آیم کہ چار عنصر ما

عشقست و جہنم خیال و سودا

It is also called the Majma'ul Bahra'in (مجموع البحرین), see the article of Sohaili Khwānsari in the Armoghén, issues 6-8, vol. 18, pp. 432 - onwards.

MS No. 729(p) - Catalogue of Pers MSS. R.A.S.B. Ivenow (1924).

This magnavī is sometime styled Matla'ul Anvar, see India Office Cat., Ethe. 1531(1).

18. See f.n. page 49 Supra.

The Khamsa Chareib: Comparative Study of the Tehran and the Bodleian MSS.

The subject headings are very seldom given in these copies of MSS. The sections being usually marked simply as fasl (فصل). The Bodleian copy has got 636 lines while the Tehran copy has got 644 lines. There is difference of 8 lines. The initial verse of both the MSS. is the same. The final verse in the Bodleian is not the same as in the Tehran copy.

Opening Lines in the Bodleian Copy.

سے برکرو خاک تنگ میدان

سے کاین چرگان و شش پہرے پاک - نہ کوئی کند زکرة خاک

کم باش چو گوی ایر چو گان

Opening in the Tehran Copy.

سے برکرة خاک تنگ میدان - کم باش چو گوی ایر چو گان

Last lines of the Bodleian Copy.

سے جان نور علم ہرچہ دانست - پس کی سر رفت و روی دارد

The ending in the Tehran Copy.

روح تو ز علم ہر کجا رفت - جست بعمل بر پیشا رفت

سے آب از تنگی روانست - در گشتہ شفات نالت

The creation of the World (Tehran Copy.)

سے این ہم محدث اند و مجبور

در قبحہ قمر اسیر و مقہور

خالق ہم کے قدیم است

ارزاق ہم کے عظیمست

This passage on فی حروث العالم as it stands in the Bodleian Copy is the same as that of Tehran, with the omission of the following verse only:

سے چوں خانہ کد خدای دیری

کہ نیست شد و خدای دیری

19

Rubaiyat-i-

Abdullah Ansari

Abi Sa'id Abil Khair

Baba Tahir Uryen

Umar Khayyam: Whinfield ed.

Alamgir

Ruq'at-i-Alamgiri

Safina-i-Auliya

- Khushgu

Birendra Ban Das

Sarv-i-Azad

Ghulam Ali Azad

Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia,

Blunt (1903)

Sharaf Nama / Sikander Nama

Nizami

Shahid-i-Sadiq

Sadiq b. Salih Isfahani

Sharh-i-Khaqani

See Sharh in MSS

Shi'ru'l Ajam

Shibli Nomanani

Shirin Khusrāu

Nizami

Subh-i-Sadiq

Muhammed b. Muhammed Isfahani

Sayru'l Auliya

Sawati'ul Anwar

Suhuf-i-Ibrahimi

Ali Ibrahim Khan

Tazkira-tul Auliya

Nicholson, R.A.

Tazkirah Ali Hazin

Ali Hazin

- Daghistan

Husain

- Hussaini

- Fakhrud Din Marvazi

Tazkira-tul-Masirin

- ush Shu'ara

Daulatshah, E.C. Browne ed.

- ush Shu'ara

Mirza Tahir Nasirabadi

Tazkira-i-Sami

Mirza, Sam

- Mir Taqi Kashi

Mir Taqi Kashi (1903)

- Taqiuddin Kashi

Taqiyud Din Kashi

- Makhsanul Ghoreib

- Khulasatul Asha'r

- Sarkhush

Talkhisul- Athar fi Ajaibul Aqar
Tarikh-i-Alfi

- Binakiti

- Dawlatshahi

- Guzideh

Tarikh-ul-Ghaznayn

Tarikh-i-Hukama

- Jahan Gushe

- Firishta

- Niguristan

- Seljuqiya

- Nassaf: Tajziyatul Inaar

Tuhfa-tul Adab

- 'Iraqayn

- Sighar

Tabaqat-us-Shu'ara

Tears of Rhorasan

Universal Biography of Persian Poets.

'Urafatul Ashiqin

Wandering Quatrains

Wafyatul Ayyan

Yad-i Bayza

Zoroaster

Shakibi

'Abdur Rashid Khan

Salih Bakui

Hamdullah Mastawfi, ed. Browne

Bahiqi

Dr. Julius Lippert (1903) ed.

'Ata Malik Juwaini, ed. Mirza Muhd.
(1916)

Abu Tahir Khatuni

'Abdullah b. Fazlullah

G. Ferrend ed.

Khaqani

Amir Khusrau

Qadrat

Kirkpatrick (Calcutta, 1785)

India Office MS. No. 2415.

Taqi-Awhadi

Zhukovski, V.tr. by Dr. E. Denison
Ross in JARS 1998 vol, p. 349-66.

Ibn-i-Khalikan

Ghulam Ali Azad

Jackson, A. V. W.

Different Printed Editions and Commentaries.

- Alwan-i-Madain. Irandshahr Publication, Berlin, 1343 Shamsi.
- Diwan-i-Khaqani, ed. 'Alī 'Abdur Rasūlī, Tehran, 1316, Shamsi.
- Intekhabat-i-Kulliyat-i-Khaqani 'Abdul Qayyum of Calcutta, printed in 1910 A.D. as bad as Naval Kishore editions.
- Intekhab-i-Asaid-i-Khaqani Published from Hyderabad in 1319 A.H. Under the management of Munshi Zafar Yab.
- Kulliyat-i-Khaqani Lithograph edition in two volumes published by Naval Kishore Edited by Syed Sadiq Ali, Ghali of Lucknow. Three impressions: 2nd print in 1891 A.D.: Lucknow - Cawnpore.
- Nami of Allahabad Nami also published a commentary of a few panegyrics in Urdu, with text which are now rare. R.A.S. Bengal, 1845 A.D.
- Poems of Khaqani (Extracts) Note - We could not find the book in the Society nor in the Catalogue of the books of the Society.
- Asaid-i-Shaukat Meeruthi. Commentary in Urdu of the course of Allahabad University Part I. The second part not published author being annoyed by "literary thieves" who reprinted the first part under their names, which are not disclosed.
- Sharh-i-Tuhfatul Iragayn 'Abdul Bari, Asi of Lucknow, commentary in Urdu. Only difficult portions are explained. Published by Asi from Naval Kishore Press - Lucknow.
- Tuhfatul Iragayn. 1. Edited by Munshi Abul Hasan, Agra, 1355 A.H..
2. Naval Kishore edition, Lucknow. Two impressions. Cawnpore
- Tuhfa-i-Shirwan. Asghar Ali, Rumi of Islamia College, Lahore, published in A.D. 1899; a commentary in Urdu of one panegyric ending in "sheen" (شین).

- Note 1. Professors of some Colleges of Lahore published a few panegyrics with their English translations as help-books for the Punjab University students.
2. 'Abd'ul Qader, the Cataloguer of Fir'oze Collection, Bombay speaks of Iran edition of the Tuhfatul Iragāyn which no other Iranian writer has mentioned.
3. We have not come across any edition (complete) of the Tuhfatul Iragāyn from Lahore.
4. 'Alī 'Abd'ur Rasūlī, the editor of the then Diwan-i-Khaqānī refers to some Bombay edition of the Diwan which inspite of our best efforts, it has not been possible to locate.

COMMENTARIES (MSS)

On the Diwan-i-Khaqānī.

Anonymous.

Sharh-i-Diwan dated A.H.1045. Edinburge Uni. Cat. 277.

Ishijī

More or less a copy of Shadiyabadi. No originality.
Written in Jahangir's time. Rieu II page 562.

Shadiyabadi.

Indian production: quite useful.

A.S.B. No.459 - 60; Bk. No.34 - 35; Br. Mu. 561.

On the Tuhfatul Iragāyn.

'Abd'ul Wahhab.

The Mohabbat Nama. Flugel. p. 509. Pertsch. Ber. Cat. Page 770.

'Abd'us Salam

Useful commentary. All the verses not explained; dated A.H.1057, E.I.O. Vol. II. 960. Bodl. Lib., 581.

- Anonymous. The Punjab University Library - Two MSS. refer Oriental College Magazine Feb. 1927.
- Anonymous. E.I.O. 2367.
- Anonymous. The Farah Afza Ruh Afza. Sprenger Page 463.
- Ghulam Muhammed No originality. E.I.O. 960, Bodl. Lib. 580.
- Iahiji. Letter of Iahiji.
A fairly long letter to some "Dear Friend" who was not appreciator of Khaqani. This is preserved in the Buhar Library (the National Library, Calcutta) in MSS. See No.255. It is bound up with the Turkish Dictionary - LUGHAT-I-TURKI by Fazl Ullah Khan printed in Calcutta A.H. 1240. This MS is incomplete. Iahiji has explained something like 22 couplets of Khaqani in this letter. It was written personally by 'Ali Iahiji who gives his real name as - 'Ali Muhi. Text is bit corrupt. Date of its composition or despatch is not given. But we know that Iahiji was in Jahangir's time.

X

X.

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| British Museum.
Rieu | Page 100. |
| British Museum Supplement.
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now National Library)
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| Cambridge University,
Browne, E.C. | Page 48. |
| Edinburg University Library | No. 278. |
| Firoze Collection, Bombay,
Abdul Qader | Page 129. |
| Hammer Redekunste | |
| India Office Library (now Common Wealth
Relations Library, 1903)
Ethe.
Edwards E. | Nos. 952-60, Columns 204 and 136
be referred for imitation of the
<u>Tuhfatus Iracayn.</u> |
| A Catalogue of two collections of Persian
and Arabic MSS.
Ross and Browne, (1902) | |

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Vol. lxvi.

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Vol. 1 Page 600.

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Etesani, Y.

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62
13
75

Epistle no. 7 to Imam Sherfud-Din Rohul-Islam el-Harvi;

Epistle nos. 8-10 to unknown addressees. 15

Epistle no. 11 is addressed to Mawlana-i-Ram. We take it as spurious as Mawlana Rumi died in A.H. 1273 in Konieh and Khaqani died much earlier.

Epistle no. 12 is addressed to a friend.

A few of his letters are available in the Kutub Khanah-i-'Ali Madrasah-i-Sipah Salar, Tehran (Iran).

C) KHAQANI AS ARABIC WRITER

Khaqani had a Diwan in Arabic which has not come down to us. It was either stolen or perished. His extant Arabic writings are a few panegyrics and fragments. We may consider it a credit for an Irani to write verses in Arabic in the style Khaqani has done, but it was definitely an essential part of acquisition of learning and knowledge in those days to have a mastery over the lingua franca of the time. Of course, writing verses in it was an extra qualification and attainment. From his Arabic contributions we find that Khaqani is quite at home in Arabic and wields a powerful pen. He can produce any number of verses without showing any sign of fatigue or commonplace. He writes through inspiration and employ Arabic metres. Some time he is verbose.¹⁶ Figures of speech, the Quranic ideas and other ornamentations abound in his poetry.¹⁷

15. For epistles 4 - 10 refer f. 34b, f. 36b, f. 37b, f. 38b, No. 1232.

Cat. Bibl. Nat., Paris.

16. Page 929, lines 1 & 9; Page 930, line 3; Page 931, lines 1, 3 & 4; 13 - 18;

17. Page 932, lines 2, 7; Page 933, lines 3 (Quranic idea), 4 and 12 - 21;

Page 935, lines 1, 4-7, 8-9, 11 and 14-20; Page 936, lines 1, 3; 16-17; 23;

Page 937, lines 1-2; Page 938, lines 6-11; 13; Page 940, lines 5, 8 - 21;

Page 941, lines 2, 13 & 15-20; Page 942, lines 1-3, 5, 6, 7; 18-21;

Page 943, lines 1, 5, 8-9; 11, 13; 14-19; Page 944, lines 3-5; .

20. Page 945, lines 1-5; Page 934, lines 6-21; Page 935, lines 1 - 7;

Page 935, and 936, except 7 of 935. Page 940, lines 8 - 21;

Page 940, lines 1-9; 10-12; Page 941 full and Page 942, lines 1-13.

Footnote for next page.

18. Page 931, line 22; Page 932, lines 1, 7, 17 - 21; Page 933, lines 1, 5-6; 8-9.

The references in this page and those in the following are of those of the Diwan (Rasuli edition).

He is bold in his praise but never lavish. He portrays his patron precisely but never caricatures him.¹⁸ To his rivals in poetry he is unsparing. He believes that these "sons of vices", "these thieves of his ideas" may grow like mushrooms but they would perish soon. In some poems we find him following the beaten track composing poems within the prescribed limits of old days. In this respect he strikes us like poets of early period. Closely following the style of that period he will compare his ladylove to the young deer and her eyes to the jet black eyes of a she-camel of high breed.¹⁹ His watchful eyes will take interest in things like *Falūzaj* of Baghdad²⁰ and he would start his journey with this sweet dish as a good omen. He believes in self-control but when one is young it will not be out of fitness of things to allow the young passions to have their ways for some time. His approach to life is recorded well in his poems.²¹ Some time we find him giving us details of his own life which have got biographical value.²²

Khaqānī's knowledge of the Qurān and Islamic literature was very profound. In his writings he has quoted verses (Sūrah), extracts and the Qurānic ideas liberally. Some of the parts of the Qurān and verses used by him are:-

Part of the Qurān - I - Sūrah - Fātiha, Baqara : III - Baqara, Al-i-Imran : IV - Al-i-Imran : VII - A'raf, An'am, Maida : IX - Anfal, A'raf : X - Tuba or Baraat : XI - Tuba or Baraat, Yunus :- XII - Hud : XIII - Rad, Ibrahim, Yusuf : XIV - Hijr, Nahl : XV - Kahf, Bani Israil : XVI - Ta Ha, Maryam, Kahf : XVIII - Nur, Mominun : XIX - Naml, Shu'ara : XX - Qasas : XXII - Yasin, Ahzab : XXIII - Saffat : XXIV - Ha mim, Zumar, Al-Mumin : XXV - Zukhruf : XXVI - Qaf, Muhammed : XXVII - Najm, Rahman : XXVIII - Hashr, Tahrin : XXIX - Qalam, Muddaththir : XXX - Zilzal, Lail, Shams, Tin, Takwir, Naba, Ikhlas, Dhuha, Buruj, Nasr, Fil, Nas, 'Adiyat, Inshiqaq, Infitar, Balad.²³

19. Page 944, lines 1-2; Page 934, lines 12-20. Page 932, lines 10-13; Page 930, line 21.

20. Page 930, lines 5-13; Page 931, lines 11-19; Page 932, lines 2-15; Page 933, lines 1-3 and 7-9.

22. Page 933, lines 13, 17; Page 934, lines 1-4; Page 940, lines 8, 13-14, 19-20; Page 943, lines 14, 18 - 19; Page 944, lines 3 - 5.

23. For Surahs used refer Diwan

pp. 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 29, 31, 33, 50, 51, 54, 56, 57, 66, 67, 73, 78, 93, 99, 103, 104, 188, 190, 191, 193, 200, 202, 203, 208, 216, 252, 218, 240, 241, 252, Contd.

His Arabic Writings.

Rasūlī and Naval Kishore Editions compared.

Rasūlī Edition.

In Rasūlī's edition the Arabic portion is spread over 15 pages only from 929 - 944. There are in all 315 lines. No prose piece.

1. Biographical Qasida - from page 929 to 936	Line 168
2. In praise of Baghdad- from page 937 to 940	" 68
3. Eulogy of Saifud Din Muzaffar bin Mohammed - the Ruler of Derband. 940 to 941	" 23
4. In praise of Malikul Azam, 'Ala'ud Din 941 to 943	" 45
5. Qita on his own poetry and his place 943	" 6
6. Qita in praise of Palūzaj 944	" 1
7. Qita in praise of Izzud Din 944	" 3

Naval Kishore Edition.

In Naval Kishore Edition the Arabic writings of Khaqani are spread over 148 pages from 1425 - 1573 containing 514 lines. There are two pieces of prose as well comprising 45 lines. The title page is in addition to these pages, occupied by interliner, marginal notes and Persian translation of the text.

Contents

	Page	Total line
1. A piece of prose.	1426 - 1429	16
1. In praise of God	1430 - 39	23
3. In praise of the Prophet: Subdivided into different parts. Different limbs and qualities and name of the Prophet is eulogised along with his dignity on the Day of Resurrection.	1440 - 78	76
4. In praise of the high mansion	1478 - 93	23
5. In praise of the Grand Vizir	1493 - 1501	16
6. On sorrow and affliction (questions and Answers)	1501 - 20	69

253, 254, 267, 272, 277, 291, 292, 293, 295, 300, 301, 307, 316, 317, 324, 332, 334, 336, 337, 343, 348, 369, 380, 383, 392, 403, 422, 423, 441, 455, 460, 460 & 517, 474, 489, 519, 562, 563, 592, 620, 628, 641, 644, 662..

CONCLUSION

A critical study of Khāqānī and his poetry has been presented, the different aspects of his poetry analysed. As a panegyric-writer we have compared him with others and found him one of the best. As an elegy-writer he holds a unique position in Persian literature. We agree with our Persian contemporary Āqā-i-Badi'uz Zaman and say that Khāqānī was the best among his contemporaries as an Ode-writer. Khāqānī never aspired to be a good satirist. His epistolary writings prove that he could write in a forceful style, both simple and elegant. In his own estimate he was the master of his age, both in prose and poetry.

He is only next to Firdausī in expression of patriotic feelings in his poetry. He paved the way for Hafiz by writing ghazals, both lyrical and mystical. The didactic and moral poems, specially his quatrains are the lines which Sādī developed later on. His treatment of the subjects is lively, true and faithful.

He has been blamed of being stiff, high-flown and pedantic. But the fact is that a very small portion of his works falls under this category. The beauty of the poet is that the language and style in which he wrote some 800 years ago and the thoughts and ideas he expressed, can be understood even to-day. He lived in an age when learning and knowledge flourished; when composition like the Chahār Maqāla was not considered to be a belles-lettres.

He being fond of innovations, gave us new constructions and new words. We do not get tired of reading him even though he expresses the same thoughts, in new words and new style. Khāqānī is master of his own style which was imitated by a number of poets with little success. Some time Sanāi was his ideal. Soon he found himself a better writer than he. The psychology that 'a poet is a ruler of his age' worked strongly in his period resulting in clashes with the autocrat monarchs. 1

1. Writes Rashid Watwat:

سے بر دین و ملک آنکہ ترا ستیزار

بر نظم و نثر کرد مرا نیز ستیزار

مے نہ مرا مان دار و من جان دارش یعنی سخن — مان اوتجی است مانا جان گنج نامت. Khāqānī, p. 88

His language in the ʿitāʾ (Fragments) is simple and chaste. Perhaps some one may not believe that these are the compositions of Khagani. The specimens of such writing and style can be found in his panegyrics, odes and strophe poems.

The Masnawī of Tuhfatul-Iraqayn was a departure from the common run. It is a travel in poetry. In this respect it is a new thing for the Persian literature. The Khataul Gharaib is incomplete. His Arabic Diwan has not come down to us. Poems of other writers like Khagan have been mixed up with those of Khagani by the scribes.

His philosophy of life was Islamic in outlook. He always complained against faithlessness, hypocrisy and show of power. Whenever he had wealth he distributed it among his friends. He had a humanitarian outlook. It was the time when un-Islamic movements were at work. He always stood against them.

He possessed a noble character and had fine habits. He was loving father and husband. Fortune never smiled on him uniformly throughout life. He had his own happy and miserable days which is the fate of the professional poets. He had his friends and foes.

He was bold in his action and thought. He never surrendered to anybody. Slavery was repugnant to him. Persian literature cannot give us any freedom-loving poet of that order in that age. The voluminous works he produced have enriched the Persian language and literature immensely and he can safely be taken as one of its benefactors. For all this he was rightly rewarded and the Caliph gave him audience - the honour which no other Persian poet attained.

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Chapter V (a) Favourite Metres of Khagānī

To suit his purpose, subject and occasion he always selected and adopted such metres for his poems as would create effect, cadence and air. 1 The most popular and pet metre with him was Raml (رمل). In its different measures and forms he had composed over 43 panegyrics and strophe-poems. There are 7 strophe poems and 36 panegyrics in this metre. In all 31 poems have been composed in Muzara' (مُضَارِع) - out of these 2 are strophe poems and remaining 29 are panegyrics; in Mansurah (مَنْسُورَة) one strophe and 16 panegyrics; in Khafif (خَفِيف) with its different forms there are 3 strophe poems and 12 panegyrics; in Muḥbatath (مُحَبَّثَة) in all 9 panegyrics; in Rajas (رَجَس) 2 strophe poems and 6 panegyrics; in Taqarib (تَقَارِب) 6 panegyrics and in Sari' (سَرِيع) one panegyric only.

From the point of view of a single metre piece the greatest number of panegyrics and strophe poems are written in

(Bahr-i-Muzara' Muthamman Akhṣab Makfuf Mahzūf) بحر مضارع مثمن أخرب مكفوف محذوف

Its feet are

مفعول فاعلاتن معا عيل فاعلاتن

twice

The poems on pp. 11, 111, 220, 247, 334, 14, 140, 326, 314, 383, 77, 156, 253, 317, 385, 79, 161, 243, 320, 383 are written in this. Next metre favourite with Khagānī was (Bahr-i-Raml Musaddas Maqṣūr) بحر رمل سدس مقصور

Its feet being

فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن

twice

The poems on pp. 102, 148, 158, 163, 297, 303 are composed in this.

The metres employed in his odes and fragments are the common ones used in those days, and are in addition to the above metres. Subsequent ode-writers used them mostly. Some of these metres found less popularity with the later poets. In fact these metres were especially those which were used in Arabic.

1. Both Ragūlī and Navel Kishore editions give metres of some of the poems.

His Masnavi the Tuhfatul Iragayn is written in the metre called - Heza Musaddas Akhrab Maqbuz.

Figures of speech and Rhetoric Khagani Used

Khagani was fond of using figures of speech and rhetoric in his poems like Iaff-va-Mashr; twisting and dispersing that is assigning each word to other used conjointly; Talmih (allusions); Ishtiqaq etymologically connected words; Soyaq-ul-Adad figures used consecutively or otherwise; Ibham ambiguity; Tazmin (utilizing others or ones verses); puns and Tajnis-i-Khatti and Tajnis-i-Lafzi other figures of speech connected with form and writing of words. His knowledge of history and fiction is very profound as we make out from historic events and characters used in his writings.

Following the tendency of the period, he has used a particular word, say Subah, shama or Aina like Mujir in each line of a poem. In another poem he has expressed his theory of duality using the word (٢) two² in most of the lines and tried to profess his theory of keeping double sets of each thing, say two cups of wine, two cup-bearers, two beloveds and so on. He has written Sugand Nama using Bay (٤) in most of the lines. 3

Some of his poems have got only rhymes (Qafiyah) and no separate ending word called Radif. While other poems have got two, three, four or even five ending words (Radif) appearing in each verse.

2. Diwan pp. ; 205-6. Two Ka'ba, p. 155.

3. Diwan pp. 24-25; 51-57.

These serve as additional restrictions on writing. Some time just to put more force or stress a set of words has been repeated twice as *Radif* such as

مخمسین نے مسیم

Some of his words have lost the import in which he used them, such as *Dev-Dili* (دیردلی) which he used in the good sense of 'bravery' has just the opposite sense now-a-days. He has coined new phrases such as (سوماتِ ظلم) *Sommat-i-Zulm*, (غزینِ خل) *Ghuzz-i-Bukhl* wherein he has used the name of a notorious wild tribe to express miserliness. 4

The peculiar way of using *takhallus* with *Khagani* is that he brings it in the last but one line of his odes. By using *takhallus* a poet puts his sea or brand, more or less permanent, on the composition he produces.

SUBJECTS DEALT BY KHAGANI

Customs, Manners and Superstitions

Sher-baha, *Taigh-i-Khatib*, *Faqā*, *Sehardam*, *Jalajul*, *al-Humdo-lillah*, *Chu mos-i-mahram-i-ghosh*, *Zuqqah*, *Mushrah*, *Khayah-o-bat-i-Nan*, *Tarazu-i-naran*, *Bad Herz-i-Duzd*, *Shakar-rez*, *Raughan-i-Misri*, *Chap*, *Schail*, *Ud-ul-Salib*, *Yaqū*, *Hai-tabb*, *Dafa-i-Ajynul-Kamal*.

II. Fauna and Flora, Hides and Skins, Prescriptions and Dishes, Games and Sports and Hunting Paraphernalia:

Darakhtak-i-Dana, *Kalūchah*, *Halua*, *Khwarah*, *Sikba*, *Āba*, *Mashkūfah*, *Fanak*, *Qunduz*, *Keymukht*, *Safun Badshah*, *Sarī*, *Parva-hah*, *Sam*, *Karbasah*, *Asb-i-Katli*, *Asb-i-Tadak*, *Muzmar*, *Ashqar*, *Beyore*, *Sikh-Kabab*, *Asb-i-Khūn*, *Muzavvar*, *Zuqq*, *Gulshakar*, *Bad-zan*, *Dast-Khūn*, *Shash zarbat*, *Nemat*, *Far-Parah*, *Mashk*, *Kaś*, *Sar-i-Manak*, *Khurd-Chahak*, *Nadab*, *Daydak*, *Urī*, *Harrah*, *Sitarah*, *Suradiq*, *Shayb*, *Pāikan-i-miqrazah*, *Dahrah*, *Yaghlaq*, *Sakzan*, *Tarkash*, *Pāyk-i-Pāykani*, *Yasaj*.

4. More words:

<i>Dihān</i> pp. 473 -	زکوة لب	; 255 -	قارون غم	; 265
15 -	بنجوش	; 273 -	محمور بیت	; 276
349 -	غرض صبا	; 382 -	غزینِ فضل	
+ pp. 421	413 line 15	; 517 .		

نشاوری کرم
کافور عزت

III. Rivers, Canals and Ocean, Places and Countries, Tribes and Nations, Mountains, Lovers and Beauties, Musical Terms:

Atil, Khazar, Itil, Arran, Saqalab, Khazar, Tanghaj, Yazidiyan, Khafajah, Mount Juti, Mount Ahad, Ab-khaz, Kur, Azarbaijan, Shamakhi, Baku, Zarah garan, Khazran, Shabran, Badakhsh, Sahta, Kasahgar, Pardah-i-Anqa, Rahavi, Jalajal, Nay, Ruhban, Qadis-i-yah, Sab-a, Nahiyah, Minarah, Kufah, Mash-had, Safura, Muhammad, Isa, Moryan, Yusuf, Yaqoob, Arinah (Arizah), Ganj-i-Ravan.

IV. Painters and Paintings, Poets, Authors, Historians and Scientists, Saint Churches and Religious Books, Ministers, Kings and Queens and Personages including Shahnama's Characters, Astrologers, Astronomers and Books thereof, Musicians and Instruments, Prophets and Un-Islamic Movements, Stages to Mecca, Allusions, Metaphors and Similies:

Tang-lusha, Artang, Angaleyun, Qunqaf, Azadaha, Sar, Zobaidsah, Adafah, Asiyah, Rostam-o-Bohran, Jafar Barmaki, Fazal-i-Rabi, Arstu, Asif, Attab, Najumak, Makhran, Bitriq, Mitran, Heekal, Tursikus, Usqaf, Nastore, Jathliq, Azar, Qusta, Shamas, Bohora, Haft, Mardan, Rabea, Sarah, Jamahed, Sulaiman, Arslan, Bughra, Ibn-i-Yamin, Yahuda, Seoba, Iskandar, Firoza, Arjab, Khizir Khan, Khat-i-Azraq, Ankabut-asa, Parr-i-Simurgh, Atash, Ismaili, Sadreh-i-Masih, Shah-i-Idris, Razmi-Yaz-dash, Tan, Haft, Khwan, Azdaha sar.

V. Mansions and Buildings, Dresses and ornaments, Beauty Aids and Perfumes, Tonics, Drinking Vessels and Wine:

Tab-Khanah, Sur, Bad-puraya, Band-i-Baqalani, Janab, Sadi-Babulha, Qasr-i-qisre, Aivan-i Madain, Khoo-Khanah, Sitarah, Dava, Chukha, Tilsan, Burnas, Khara, Ronin, Bash, Khashtak, Mahalnai, Perz, Gouay, Qavarah, Jalbab, Purz, Tutq, Harhaft, Hana, Wassan, Surkhab, Sufaid-ab, zark, Chalis, Surma, Nushra, Nakhon-jar, Mashahatah, Musk-i-Khata, Musk-i-Tibatti, Oil of Egypt, Muthalath, Lakh-lakhah Aborah, Karbas, Diba, Rahiq, Ma-ul-Vard, Javaresh Cavarish, Ghurah, Shir-i-Madir.

(b) Khaqani as Prose Writer.His Epistolary Writing

Khaqani was a master writer both in prose and poetry. In his own estimation he was by far a better prose writer than Sahban, the famous Arabi writer of Vail (وائل) tribe, as it appears from his following verse:

سے رشکِ قلم من خورد حسّان بن ثابت را بگر — دستِ نثر من زند سبحان و اهلِ راقا

In those days Khaqani was recognised both in Iraq and Khorasan as "the King of Prose" by men of learning. Khaqani writes:

سے یاد تہ نظم و نثرم در خراسان و عراق — کمالِ دانش را ز ہر لفظ امتحان آورده ام
No one could compete with him:

سے آسمان مانده گاہِ نظم و نثر — بر زمین چون من ہرگز نہیں
In fact Khaqani wielded a powerful pen in this domain of writing.

سے مقتدرائے نظم و نثرم چون قلم گیرم بدست — خود قلم گوید کرا این دست باشد مقتدر است
His prose compositions which have come down to us through posterity are very meagre. These mainly fall in two categories: 1. Epistles; and 2. Preface, that is, the Introduction to his Tuhfatul Iraqayn.

His Prose Style.

Khaqani was known chiefly as a panegyric writer. No one has paid due attention to his prose composition. His style in prose as manifested by the letters is simple, forceful and elegant. At times it is ornate (مستح) and rhythmic (مترز). Some time ideas and thoughts he explains in more than one clause, some time with allusions and references. With the diction also goes the credit of selection of appropriate phrases and idioms most suited to the context but never too much of them like the Hazrat-i-Nasaf or like the author of the Muqamat-i-Hamidi. Unlike the fashion of his time he does not embarrass us with long epithets, titles or over-woven prefaces and over-drawn endings of letters. In this respect departing from the convention and established rule of letter-writing, he can safely be called an innovator. He is not boring or cumbersome.

5. Diwan p. 18.

p. 425.

6. Ibid p. 263.

p. 433. line 1; 447. l. 13.

7. Ibid p. 628.

Cf. Diwan pp. 180 and 225 on his own poetry 343, 345, 393 and 411.

8. Ibid p. 89. cf. ibid p. 18 on his on poetry:

سے نیست افہم سخن را بہتر از من پارشا — دو چہا ملک سخن رانی مسلم شد مرا

سے سخن گفتن بکہ ختم است میرانی و میری
ملک را بین کہ میگردد بخاتمائی بخاتمائی

To be more effective he brings in fables, stories, parables and verses. He describes the events and occasions vividly, in their true colour, and without exaggeration. His is the learned and masterly style which speaks of the author. Khaqani combines the verbose diction and style of Hazrat-i-Nasaf, Qazi Hamiduddin of the Muqamat-i-Hamidi, and simple and chaste style of the Chahar Maqala.

Letter writing is an art. This art was taught to each and every student of literature in those days. In fact some followed it as a profession. Almost all the enlightened and civilised cities of yore had one or more letter writers and scribes. The society was thought to be incomplete without them. Their need was all the more felt by the masses for communication of thoughts and feelings when education and learning were not widely spread. Khaqani had not pursued it as a profession but as a man of letters. Unfortunately his letters have not been collected as yet and the world does not possess any collection or compilation like that of the Ruqat-i-Abul Fazl or the Ruqat-i-Alamgiri from Khaqani.

It is true that Khaqani's name spread all over and men of learning and other princes yearned to correspond with him. He too thought it his good fortune to receive letters and send replies to those who never met him. The subject-matter, some time literary, some time personal, varied from time to time and from man to man. Khaqani had a large number of friends and admirers from different walks of life and must have written and received a good number of letters. Even poems and fragments were received and written in reply by way of pen-friendship.

All these compositions go to prove the wealth of his ideas, versatility, alacrity of mind and command over the language. This also manifests his sense of attachment, friendship and gratitude, even towards those who never saw him but held him in esteem. Among such correspondence can be cited the messages and poems exchanged between Khāqānī and scholars or rulers.

His Epistles

<u>Source</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>Number of letters</u>
<u>Safīnah-i-Gohristān</u>		3.
Bibliothèque Nationale		7.
Khudā Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna (Bhārat)		2.
Kutub-Khāna-i-Madrassah-i-Ālī Sipāh Sālār (Tehrān)		A few letters.

Epistle no. 1 was written on the sad demise of the Prince, the son of Shirwān-Shāh. Khāqānī has consoled the bereaved father and also described the futility of human life.

Epistle no. 2 is a short one. From that we learn that Khāqānī prayed for the long life of the King (Shirwān-Shāh) at Ka'ba during his Hajj and requested the saints who lived at the holy places for the same.

Epistle no. 3 is the reply to the King's letter which he wrote in his own hand to Khāqānī and wanted to persuade him to come back and give up the idea of pilgrimage.

Epistle no. 4 written to Imām Nāṣiruddīn Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Bakōūi.

Epistle no. 5 to Malik Saifud-Dīn Shāh-i-Armin Bektermour;

Epistle no. 6 to Alaud-Dīn Muḥammad bin Ahmad al-Mastaūfi al-Mervezi.

14. See the Monthly Armoghan - issue No. II Urdū Bahār, year XII (1310 Shamsī), and No. III of year XII and No. 8, Vol. XVI.